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GENERAL ASSEMBLY
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IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON
THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO
COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES
CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AFRICA:
(a) FINAL REVIEW AND APPRAISAL OF
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE
UNITED NATIONS PROGRAMME OF
ACTION FOR AFRICAN ECONOMIC
RECOVERY AND DEVELOPMENT
1986-1990;
(b) AFRICA'S COMMODITY PROBLEMS
PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES TO PROMOTE
PEACE IN THE WORLD

SECURITY COUNCIL
Forty-sixth year

Letter dated 2 December 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General

I have the honour, upon instructions, to refer to my letter of 14 November 1991 (A/46/659-S/23223) and to forward herewith a copy of the report, in Arabic, English, French and Spanish, of the Tenth Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement held at Accra from 2 to 7 September 1991 (see annex).

I should appreciate it if you would circulate the present letter and the attached report as a document of the General Assembly, under agenda items 19, 21 and 22, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Kofi Nyidevu AWOONOR
Permanent Representative

ANNEX

Report of the Tenth Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Countries

Accra, 2-7 September 1991

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THE ACCRA DECLARATION OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

(For the text of the Declaration, see A/46/659-S/23223, annex.)

REPORT OF THE TENTH MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES HELD IN ACCRA, GHANA, FROM 2-7 SEPTEMBER, 1991

(SECTION I)

INTRODUCTION

1. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Accra, the Republic of Ghana, from 2 to 7 September, 1991.

2. 2 and 3 September 1991 were devoted to a meeting of Senior Officials.

3. The Bureau of the Conference, presided over by Ghana, was also composed of Nigeria, Angola, Egypt, Namibia, Senegal, Tanzania, India, Iran, Pakistan, Palestine, Syria, Cuba, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Cyprus, Chile and Yugoslavia (ex-officio).

4. The Conference took note of the report of the President of the Movement. This is annexed to this report.

5. Representatives of the following countries and organisations which are members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries participated in the Conference: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Argentina, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belize, Benin, Bhutan, Bolivia, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, Colombia, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Korea (DPR), Kuwait, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Lebanon, Lesotho, Liberia, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Madagascar, Malawi, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Panama, Qatar, Rwanda, Saint Lucia, Sao Tome and Principe, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Suriname, Swaziland, Syrian Arab Republic, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, Vanuatu, Venezuela, Vietnam, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

6. Representatives of the following countries, organisations and national liberation movements attended the Conference as observers: Brazil, Philippines, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Papua New Guinea, El Salvador, ANC, AAPSO, FLNKS, League of Arab States, OAU, Organization of the Islamic Conference, PAC, Socialist Party of Puerto Rico and the United Nations.

7. Guest delegations from the following countries and organizations were present at the Conference: Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Holy See, UN Conference on Trade and Development

(UNCTAD), UN Development Programme (UNDP), UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN (FAO), UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), UN International Children's Fund (UNICEF), UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, World Health Organization (WHO), World Food Council (WFC), World Food Programme (WFP), Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), International Committee of the Red Cross, Red Crescent Societies and UN Special Committee on Decolonization.

8. Mongolia was admitted as a full member of the Movement. Guatemala and Honduras were granted observer status, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Germany participated as guest countries for the first time.

9. In its inaugural session, the Conference heard an inspiring address by Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings, Chairman of the Provisional National Defence Council and Head of State of the Republic of Ghana. The speech was adopted as an official document of the Conference, by acclamation.

10. In the opening session of the Conference, H.E. Budimir Loncar, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, Chairman of the Movement, gave an address on the 30th anniversary of the founding of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. The Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Indonesia and Venezuela, representing their regional groups, joined in recalling this anniversary.

11. The Conference paid tribute to the late Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India, former Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and stalwart champion of non-alignment whose defence of and commitment to the principles and objectives of the Movement left a lasting impression upon it.

(SECTION II)

REVIEW OF IMPORTANT AND URGENT ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE THE SUMMIT MEETING OF THE MOVEMENT HELD IN BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, FROM 4 TO 7 SEPTEMBER 1989

12. The significant changes in international relations that had begun before the Summit Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in 1989, have continued at a fast pace since that event. The profound character of the changes has naturally generated an urge in non-aligned and other developing countries to seek new paths so as to preserve their momentum for peace and development as well as the full exercise of their national independence and sovereignty and to be more responsive to the unique changes.

13. The end of the bi-polar world of the post-cold war era, dominated by the two super-powers with their two competing social and economic systems and their rival strategic alliances as well as the emergence of a new order, require of developing countries, especially Non-Aligned countries, to re-assert themselves,

individually and collectively, in order to ensure an equal participation in the creation of such new relations in the world to preserve and consolidate their independence and sovereignty and protect their political and economic interests. The freedom to order their affairs, as they deem fit, constitutes a further guarantee for their political independence sovereignty. At the same time, the member countries of the Movement should identify positive aspects of the changes with the view to taking advantage of them.

14. The thaw in relations between the East and West has justified the raison d'etre of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries because that policy was also formulated to urge the East and West towards dialogue and co-operation. The Movement will, therefore, continue to be an important factor in international relations characterised by understanding, close co-operation based on mutual respect, as well as by social, economic and political justice. In pursuing that goal, the Movement will continue to develop overall dialogue and co-operation with all other key international players.

15. In this respect, on the commemorative 30th anniversary of the founding of the Movement, the Conference wishes to honour the founding fathers and initiators of the Movement, namely, Josep Tito of Yugoslavia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of the Arab Republic of Egypt and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, for their foresight and courage in conceiving and charting out a positive advance for humanity.

16. Additionally, the emerging tendencies towards a unipolar world characterised by new elements in the increasingly complex international political landscape could limit the prospects of resolving global problems of today, as the interests and needs of the non-aligned and other developing countries are not taken into due account. Matters of importance to non-aligned countries are, therefore, receiving less attention and until this situation changes in favour of issues of concern to all geographical sectors of the world, the objectives of non-alignment would remain not fully realized.

17. Furthermore, the speed at which successive changes are occurring makes it necessary that the Movement keep abreast of all developments and events so as to be able to influence them if it is to continue to play an effective and significant role in respect of international relations, and to preserve its dynamic character.

CONTINUED RELEVANCE OF THE MOVEMENT

18. In face of the altered nature of the post-cold war order, the question has been posed as to whether the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries remains valid. An in-depth assessment of the principles, objectives and activities of the Movement shows, however, that it is as relevant now to international relations and development as at any time, and is in the position to pursue the role it has assumed from the beginning.

19. The recent dramatic changes in Europe, together with the focus on that region, which nonetheless continue to impact upon all regions, countries and groupings, make it imperative for the Movement to reassert its principles and objectives in face of the new challenges in order to demonstrate its continued viability, contrary to superficial criticisms. The continued validity of its principles and objectives which include among others the safe-guarding of the independence and sovereignty of non-aligned and other developing countries, the achievement of disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, the end of colonialism and all forms of subjugation, the eradication of racism and racial discrimination, especially apartheid, the peaceful co-existence of states and the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts, and ending intercommunal strifes and ethnic conflicts, the attainment of developmental goals by all developing countries and the protection of human rights, especially their social and economic dimensions cannot be disputed.

20. The pursuit of these objectives is thus imperative if a just, new and equitable international order is to emerge. The Non-Aligned Movement must take an active part in the shaping of any such order and strengthen its unity and cohesion to that end.

DECOLONIZATION

21. Even though the struggle against colonialism has been largely successful, the Movement still attaches great importance to the emancipation of the remaining colonial territories around the world. It is for this reason that the Movement has given tremendous support to the United Nations' Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism and will continue to do so until colonialism is swept into history. In this regard, the report of the Working Group of the Movement on Decolonization to the Tenth Ministerial Conference has been invaluable but the implementational measures need to be pursued further to ensure the demise of colonialism by the end of the Decade.

22. The Movement reaffirms its commitment to the right of peoples under alien or colonial occupation to self-determination and independence and expresses its firm support and solidarity with them. The Movement expresses its continued support for the work of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation and its effective contribution to the implementation of the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial peoples and their right to compensation for the effects of colonialism.

23. In the light of new and important developments concerning the case of Puerto Rico, the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonisation, with the support of all the Latin-American and Caribbean members of the Committee, recently adopted a resolution reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence, in conformity with United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV). This Resolution expresses the Committee's confidence that a legal framework which will alow the Puerto Rican people to exercise their right to self-determination, by means of popular consultation, in

conformity with the doctrines and practices of the United Nations, will be adopted as quickly as possible.

THE MOVEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS

24. One of the most important focal points in international relations where recent changes are manifest is the United Nations. The United Nations has assumed an increasingly influential role in world affairs as the only universal framework for the conduct of international relations for the purpose of achieving peace, disarmament, development and the establishment of a just and equitable world order.

25. The end of the East-West confrontation has provided a unique opportunity for the United Nations to fully exercise its responsibilities on the basis of the principles enshrined in its Charter. The Non-Aligned Movement supports present efforts at strengthening the United Nations so as to render it more democratic, effective and efficient. The emerging agreement among a growing number of the members of the international community in support of collective security should make the United Nations more fully equipped to meet its objectives. The Non-Aligned countries should strive for greater democratisation of the United Nations, enabling the Organization to play its full role in order that the end of the era of confrontation should provide an opportunity to all countries to participate in the construction of a peaceful world which respects freedom, rule of law, justice and equality for all.

26. The member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement reassert their firm commitment to continue supporting and strengthening United Nations peace-keeping operations, relief work and humanitarian assistance and the important role the United Nations Secretary-General and the various United Nations Agencies play in this regard.

27. The non-aligned countries also express their satisfaction with and support for the role that the United Nations Secretary-General is playing in discharging his responsibility under the Charter in resolving international and regional conflicts and call for further strengthening of this role. On this score, the Non-Aligned Movement must be actively involved in the effort to restructure, revitalise and further democratise the United Nations with the aim of implementing the principles of its Charter, in consonance with the aspirations and objectives of all states and peoples. The Movement reaffirms the need for expeditious implementation of all United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions, without discrimination.

28. Furthermore, the current efforts at reforms of the United Nations should include measures designed to make the decision-making process at the United Nations, particularly the Security Council, more democratic and transparent. In this context, the present membership of the Security Council should be reviewed with a view to reflecting the increased membership of the United

Nations, and promoting more equitable and balanced representation of the members of the United Nations.

29. In order to play a more meaningful role in the United Nations and at other international fora, the Movement needs to enhance its unity and cohesion with a view to strengthening its capacity to respond effectively and expeditiously to the current challenges. There is also an urgent need for greater co-ordination within the Movement in order to ensure that the on-going process of reform of the United Nations is in consonance with the interests of the non-aligned and other developing countries. For this purpose, it is essential that member states of the Non-Aligned Movement should fully respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each other, exert all efforts to settle their disputes peacefully and strengthen their solidarity in order to promote their political and economic interest and enhance the prospects of global peace and development.

DISARMAMENT

30. Disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, requires the continued support of the Movement. The disarmament efforts by the super-powers and their allies have so far shown a clear preference for conclusion of such agreements as the INF, CFE, and START Treaties. While welcoming these treaties, and calling upon the nuclear weapon States to make further progress towards nuclear disarmament, it is necessary to emphasize that the elimination of the continuing threat posed to the entire world by existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their on-going refinement can only be achieved by pooling the efforts of the entire international community and with all countries participating and contributing on the basis of equality.

31. In this context there is a need for sustained efforts, within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament and under the umbrella of the United Nations, to make progress on the entire range of disarmament issues. This includes the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction, the creation of nuclear weapon free zones under arrangements freely arrived at, the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, the prevention of the arms race in outer space, the provision of credible and effective security guarantees to non-nuclear weapon states and the reduction of conventional forces consistent with the principle of undiminished security. It is necessary, therefore, for the Movement to continue to press for the involvement of the international community, particularly the United Nations, and other multi-lateral fora such as the Conference on Disarmament, until the universal goal of general and complete disarmament, under effective and just international control, is attained. Global and regional approaches to disarmament complement each other and should be pursued simultaneously to promote regional and international peace and security.

32. It is also necessary to take into consideration the balance of power in each region to avoid the creation of imbalance which would threaten peace and security therein.

33. The Movement welcomes the on-going endeavours made within the framework of the Conference on Disarmament for concluding a comprehensive convention on the prohibition of development, production, stockpiling and use of chemical weapons and calls on developed states to adopt measures enhancing the universal adherence to this convention and the transfer of technology for peaceful purposes. The Movement concurrently calls for the prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction.

34. The crucial link between disarmament and development cannot be denied. In this regard, the Movement of Non-Aligned countries cannot afford to relinquish its responsibility towards the pursuit of the implementation of programmes for the transfer to developing countries of resources released as a result of disarmament in developed countries.

35. Although the need to enhance security in developing countries is recognised, the developing countries are currently spending huge sums of money on the acquisition of conventional weapons. In the improved international atmosphere it is crucial that non-aligned and other developing countries promote processes of regional disarmament and reduce their military expenditure in order to enhance their social and economic development.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

36. Non-alignment should entail the definition of a comprehensive model of security relations, based on co-operation, co-ordination, communication and non-use of force in international relations, both between non-aligned countries and between them and other countries in the international community.

37. In the current international situation, security is no longer just a military matter. It is also a matter of food, social, economic, and ecological security. Security also means the right to democratic society and to development.

38. The Movement fully supports the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. It re-affirms the determination of the non-aligned states to continue their efforts to achieve the goals contained in the Declaration and as considered at the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States held in July 1979.

39. The Movement notes the preparatory work of the United Nations Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean to enable the convening of the United Nations Conference on the Indian Ocean in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in 1992.

40. In view of encouraging developments in international relations, the Movement urges the major maritime users of the Indian Ocean and the Permanent Members of the Security Council to participate in the Conference with a view to achieving the

objectives of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace.

41. In the Mediterranean, the Movement welcomes the continuing efforts of the non-aligned countries in the region to promote the process of an open and constructive dialogue for peace, stability, security, development and co-operation in the region. In this regard, the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Mediterranean Countries held in Algiers in June 1990, highlighted the importance of utilising the new political environment for the benefit of countries of the region and the increased co-operation with the other European countries as well as with the EC. The Movement fully supports the initiatives being undertaken by the Non-Aligned and European Mediterranean states and in particular the proposal to convene a Conference on Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean region (CSCM). The Movement also takes note of the decision by the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Mediterranean Countries to hold their Fourth Meeting in Cairo.

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

42. The continued occurrence and in some cases intensification of regional conflicts among member countries is a source of concern to the Movement and the international community generally. Although the ideological support for most of these conflicts has disappeared, they continue to destroy life, property and other resources in non-aligned and other developing countries that can hardly afford such conflicts. In the light of the recent reduction of tension world-wide and the clear preference of governments and peoples for dialogue and understanding, the Movement needs to convey the strength of its feelings on such conflicts to parties involved. The Movement must also continue its efforts to contribute to the peaceful solution of these conflicts in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Non-Aligned Movement through existing Committees as well as through the adoption of initiatives with the consent of the interested parties.

43. In addition, the Movement should not relent in its quest for global peace and security. Some of the most burdensome legacies of the past are the crisis situations that still threaten world peace and security. Regrettably, most of them are located in non-aligned and other developing countries. Thus they continue to embarrass the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and plague its affected peoples with devastating economic and social consequences.

44. The Movement has made considerable effort in finding peaceful solutions to the several hot-beds of regional conflicts in the Middle East, Asia, Central America and Africa and indeed some progress has been registered in a few cases.

45. In the Middle East, it has not yet been possible to arrive at a just solution to the question of Palestine and the Arab-

Israeli conflict because of the persistent refusal of Israel to implement the relevant UN resolutions which stipulate the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab and Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 including the city of Al-Quds (Jerusalem) and the occupied Syrian Golan, its recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, their right to establish their independent state on their national soil, and the convening of the international peace conference on the Middle East to meet that end; also because of the aggressive, expansionist and settlement policies and practices of Israel, the occupying power, and its coercive policies against the innocent Arab population in the occupied Palestinian territories including Jerusalem and the occupied Syrian Golan.

46. While reaffirming its support for the Intifada in the occupied territories, the Movement calls once again for a prompt convening of the International Conference for Peace in the Middle East, under the aegis of the United Nations, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, with a view to bringing about a peaceful, just and comprehensive settlement on the basis of the principles of international legitimacy and the relevant UN resolutions in particular Security Council Resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), securing the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and ensuring the total withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories including Al-Quds (Jerusalem). The Ministers welcome the on-going efforts made to convene the International Conference for Peace in the Middle East and express the hope that it be convened as early as possible.

47. The Movement asserts that the mass transfer of Jews to the occupied Palestinian territories including the city of Al-Quds (Jerusalem) and the occupied Syrian Golan constitutes a flagrant violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 465 of 1980 and 497 of 1981 and other relevant United Nations resolutions.

48. The Gulf war has provided conclusive proof that regional conflicts jeopardize international peace and security. It has also proved that had the international community, represented by the Security Council, applied the same criteria, the same political will and the same standards of international legitimacy as they did in the Gulf war, the question of Palestine could have been resolved. Therefore, the Movement reiterates its full support for the full implementation of all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding the region. The efforts made by the UN to bring about an early comprehensive settlement in the Middle East should be strongly supported by the Movement.

49. The Movement notes with appreciation the overall important developments in Lebanon, that are an outcome of the measures taken to consolidate the national reconciliation process, and of the successful efforts exerted by the Lebanese government, through its own national forces, to ensure the full exercise of

its authority over all its territory, in particular the South of Lebanon.

50. Reaffirming its previous resolutions calling for the strict respect for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon, within its internationally recognised boundaries, the Movement condemns the continued Israeli occupation of parts of Southern Lebanon and the Western Bekaa, as well as the inhuman practices and aggressions perpetrated by the occupying forces against the civilian population in these territories, as well as to their deportation from their homes and villages.

51. In this regard, the Movement reiterates its support for the full and prompt implementation of all Security Council resolutions on Lebanon, calling for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Lebanese territory, in particular Resolution 425 (1978).

52. The Movement expresses its support for the efforts exerted by the Lebanese Government to reconstruct Lebanon, in particular through the international fund created for that purpose by the Taef Accord in 1989.

53. The Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement welcomes the declaration on the birth of the Yemeni Republic on 22 May, 1990 after the two parts of Yemen (the Yemeni Arab Republic and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen) have merged into one unitary non-aligned state and commends the achievement of Yemen's unity by peaceful and democratic means as this has a positive effect on the maintenance of peace and stability throughout Yemen and at the regional level.

54. On Asia, the Movement welcomes the recent important breakthrough in the search for a comprehensive political settlement to the Cambodian question, and towards this end continues to support the untiring efforts of Indonesia, ASEAN countries, and other countries in the region and the Permanent Members of the Security Council of the United Nations. The Movement notes the progress made by the Cambodian Parties themselves to arrive at the peaceful settlement and encourages them to continue their efforts. Similar support should be given to the quest for national unity and the independent and peaceful re-unification of Korea on the basis of the joint North-South Statement of 4 July 1972.

55. There has also been some progress towards a political settlement of the conflict in Afghanistan. In this connection the meeting welcomes the efforts of the parties concerned aimed at a peaceful solution of the problem and calls for a comprehensive political settlement in accordance with United Nations General Assembly Resolution 45/12. The Movement expresses support for the United Nations Secretary General's proposals contained in his statement of 21 May 1991 for a political solution in Afghanistan.

56. In Central America, the negotiation processes aimed at establishing a just, firm and lasting peace continue developing positively. In particular, in the case of El Salvador, the Movement expresses its firm support for the United Nations Secretary-General's efforts in favour of peace. It calls on the members of the international community to maintain their decided support for those efforts and to refrain from any action or measure that might hinder them.

57. It also commends the progress made in the sub-region's integration process and the initiative to declare Central America a region of peace, freedom, democracy and development.

58. The Ministerial Meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries welcomes the recent declaration that the President of Guatemala made on 14 August 1991 on the Belizean people's right to self-determination, which was circulated in the United Nations Security Council as A/46/268-S/22953, expresses its full support for the negotiations; and urges both countries to continue their search for a definitive solution that is satisfactory to both parties.

59. Hostile actions against Cuba, in particular the encroachment of its air-space and territorial waters, the re-enforcement of the financial, credit and trade blockade and the persistence of illegal radio and television transmissions from abroad, which violate the 1982 Nairobi Convention and International Law, should stop forthwith; the territory illegally occupied by the Guantanamo naval base should be returned, in compliance with Cuba's just demands. The Movement once again calls for the cessation of the economic, financial and trade blockade imposed on Cuba since 1961 and affirms Cuba's right to request the 46th Session of the General Assembly to discuss this issue. The Movement renews its solidarity with Cuba in view of the persistence and intensification of these actions.

60. The Movement also welcomes the steady improvement in relations between Guyana and Venezuela. It notes with particular satisfaction the progress being made toward the settlement of the controversy existing between these two States through the good office of the UN Secretary-General acting in accordance with the Geneva Agreement of 1966.

61. Africa has witnessed its worst period of political instability with conflict situations in, inter alia, Western Sahara, Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, and the intensification of acts of destabilisation and destruction in Mozambique and the resurgence of violence in South Africa. Global initiatives as well as efforts at the regional and sub-regional levels to bring those situations under control have continued with varying degrees of success.

62. On Liberia, the Movement supports efforts made by the ECOWAS Standing Mediating Committee and by the Committee of Five within the framework of the ECOWAS Peace Plan with a view to restoring

lasting peace through the holding of free and democratic elections.

63. In Ethiopia the protracted civil war has come to an end and a national conference for peace, democracy and reconciliation in which twenty-four political organizations and groups participated, was convened from 1 to 5 July, 1991 in Addis Ababa. The Conference culminated in a broad consensus to form a transitional government. The transitional government which will remain in power for two years is already laying the foundations for lasting peace and democracy in Ethiopia. This welcome and exemplary development will certainly contribute to stability in the Horn of Africa.

64. In Western Sahara, the search for peace has made a significant breakthrough. The United Nations Security Council decision for the setting up of MINURSO in connection with the holding of a referendum for the people of Western Sahara is a welcome development as is the acceptance by the two parties to observe a cease-fire in the territory which came into force on 6 September, 1991. The parties are urged to refrain from any action which would jeopardize the implementation of the United Nations settlement plan for Western Sahara.

65. In Europe, the problem of Cyprus remains unresolved and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, in consonance with the new international climate, gives its full support to the initiatives in the United Nations for a solution based on the UN resolutions and NAM decisions, safeguarding the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus.

66. The need to identify and eliminate the causes of these regional conflicts cannot be over-emphasized. Greater resort to peaceful settlement of disputes, therefore, should be promoted among member countries, whiles the Movement continues to search for effective mechanisms which will ensure prompt responses to crises among member countries. Meanwhile, the countries concerned should make an effort to respond favourably to the initiatives of the Movement. There is also the need to increase the Movement's participation in UN peace-making and peace-keeping operations in view of the important role these play in the solution of regional conflicts.

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Namibia

67. On 21 March 1990, after a long and courageous struggle for national liberation, the people of Namibia joined the community of independent and sovereign states. However, South Africa continues to impede Namibia's full territorial integrity and economic development by its continued occupation of Walvis Bay and the Off-Shore Islands. Therefore, the De Klerk regime is called upon to negotiate in good faith in order to expedite the process of re-integration of Walvis Bay and the Off-Shore Islands into the Republic of Namibia in accordance with UN SC Resolution 432 of 1978. Furthermore, the international community is urged to render Namibia material and financial support in its efforts for national reconstruction and economic development.

South Africa

68. In South Africa, the legislative pillars of apartheid such as the Group Area Act, the Population Registration Act and the Land Acts have been repealed. These developments notwithstanding, the fundamental basis of apartheid, including in particular the undemocratic constitution, is yet to be addressed.

69. The South African regime's collusion with and funding of Inkatha confirms what the OAU and oppressed people of South Africa have constantly stated regarding the regime's sponsorship of the violence in the black Township and against the Liberation Movements. These revelations of duplicity and bad faith on the part of the De Klerk regime should rekindle the resolve of the international community to exert maximum pressure on the regime to expedite the process of change.

70. In this regard the Foreign Ministers fully supported the call of the democratic forces in South Africa for the speeding up of the process of negotiations through the establishment of appropriate interim measures to oversee the period of transition to a new democratic South Africa as well as the convening of a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution.

71. It is particularly important to stress that pressures and sanctions have been a potent weapon and an integral part of the strategy in the struggle against apartheid. They have, to a large extent, been instrumental in bringing about the changes now taking place in South Africa. As a powerful weapon for inducing change, sanctions continue to be needed to bring the Pretoria regime tc the negotiating table so as to ensure the realisation of the objectives stipulated in both the Harare and UN consensus declarations.

72. Accordingly, the international community is urged to continue to use that weapon on the Pretoria regime until the establishment of a United Democratic Non-racial Society in South Africa.

73. The Ministers further urged all member states and the international community as a whole to lend material and financial assistance to the Liberation Movement, including the education and training of South Africans towards preparation for the new democratic South Africa.

Angola

74. As regards Angola, the signing of the "Peace Accords for Angola", between the Government and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), is a welcome development. Now, both parties must contribute to the fulfilment in good faith of the obligations contained therein. Moreover, all states are urged to refrain from taking any actions which could undermine this agreement and to contribute to their implementation as well

as to respect fully the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola.

Mozambique

75. In Mozambique, however, despite commendable efforts by the Government towards a negotiated settlement of the conflict, RENAMO continues to undermine these efforts by consistently spreading terror and destruction in that country and by creating artificial obstacles in the on-going peace talks. In this regard, the Ministers called upon all member states and the international community as a whole to continue to support the process of national reconciliation in Mozambique for the immediate restoration of peace, stability and national reconstruction in that country.

NEW PRIORITIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

76. In recent years the international community has re-arranged its priorities on issues of global concern thereby according importance and urgency, aside from questions like maintaining peace and international security, the development of developing countries, economic recovery and the development of Africa, to questions such as the solution of the external debt problem, the environment, international drug control, human rights and political pluralism. While these issues are in themselves not new in the fora of the Movement, their consideration in negotiations should be such as to reflect the equally critical assessment that the Movement has made of them. Furthermore the consideration of the new global issues should adequately reflect the growing interdependence of the entire international community, and any approach to them should rest on a broad consensus.

(a) Human Rights

77. The concern for human rights has been increasingly global since the last Summit of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries in 1989. Most member countries of the Movement are clearly giving prominence to the respect for human rights, both collective and individual, in their national and international activities. The state's obligation to promote and ensure the full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms is acknowledged. Taking cognisance of the changes in various parts of the world, motivated by democratic principles, the Movement calls for the full unrestricted and unconditional respect for basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the inalienable right of peoples under alien or colonial occupation to self-determination. The right of each people to establish its own political system and institutions freely in peace, stability and justice on the basis of the principles of sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs is also reaffirmed.

78. It must be reiterated that human rights are indivisible and the concern for human rights should not be limited to its civil and political aspects only nor should observance of human rights

be made a conditionality for assistance by developed countries, international institutions and organisations to non-aligned and other developing countries. It must also be emphasized that the question of observance of human rights should not be raised selectively and used as an instrument in achieving purely political aims. Promotion and protection of human rights is a commitment undertaken by individual countries in accordance with the religious beliefs and value systems of their peoples and in the spirit of the international conventions which they have ratified.

79. While the civil and political aspects of human rights have been embraced in varying degrees by developing countries, the international community is yet to introduce meaningful action-programmes that will ensure the right to development, in particular the right to food, shelter, primary health care, and education in the countries of the South. These important aspects of human rights should be given equal consideration in all fora and by all Governments, especially by participation in, and contribution to, the preparations for the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights and in particular, by emphasising the need for industrialised countries to honour obligations embodied in the human rights instruments to provide international economic assistance as an integral part of human rights obligations.

(b) Drug trafficking and drug abuse

80. Drug trafficking and drug abuse continue to pose tremendous problems for the international community. While firm and sustained efforts, including the Special Session of the UN General Assembly held in New York in February 1990 devoted to international co-operation in the struggle against drug-trafficking, have been made world-wide to curb drug abuse and to destroy the origins and trade in narcotics and psychotropic substances, the problem has been aggravated by the marked shifts in the pattern of transportation of the drugs to traditional markets. Furthermore, the increased demand for drugs in developed countries has stimulated illicit production and transportation in non-aligned and other developing countries. The nexus between narcotics and terrorism also constitutes a threat to the very existence of several states. It is urgent, therefore, that all member countries implement decisions reached at the Movement's meetings, in the UN system and in other international fora, especially the Declaration and the Plan of Action adopted at the Special Session of the United Nations and the United Nations Global Programme for Drug Abuse Control, in order to eradicate these social evils and to avoid using this issue for political or military purposes, strictly respecting the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. A special appeal is made to major market countries to direct meaningful action at syndicates, illegal trafficking and diversion of chemical precursors, banks and illegal processing houses whose activities support the growing abuse of trade in drugs. It is also necessary to stress the need for additional financial resources and technical assistance to non-aligned and other developing countries for crop substitution and other

measures to combat drug trafficking and abuse, based on the principle of co-responsibility.

(c) Environment

81. The continuing global deterioration of the environment is a matter of grave and urgent concern. The current threat stems essentially from past neglect in managing the natural environment and resources. The patterns of production and consumption in developed countries disproportionately account for the numerous environmental problems. The main environmental problems currently faced by the world that need utmost serious consideration include the adverse consequences of climate change, the degradation of the global life-support systems, primarily water and air pollution, ozone layer depletion, soil degradation, desertification, drought, deforestation and extinction of numerous animals and plants species, acid rain, marine pollution the proliferation and mismanagement of toxic products and illegal traffic of toxic wastes, and the severe threat posed to the environment by the testing of nuclear weapons.

82. The environment is a common concern, and, therefore, environmental protection lends itself to the co-operation of the international community. Such co-operation has to be undertaken in the context of a balanced perspective. Both environment and development are interrelated and mutually reinforcing. Environment should therefore be addressed together with the process of development by integrating environmental concerns with the imperative of economic growth and development. The right to development of developing countries must be fully recognised and any adoption of measures for the protection of the global environment should support their economic growth and development. Recognising the need for the work of the preparatory committee of the UNCED and that of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a framework convention on climate change (INC) to place more emphasis on developmental issues, especially in providing new and additional financial resources, transfer and access to environmentally sound technology on preferential and concessional basis and ensuring a more supportive international economic and trading system, the Movement agrees that the non-aligned countries should adopt a common stand in these parallel negotiating processes to ensure that their concerns and interests are properly and adequately addressed. This is also important to ensure active participation at the highest possible level in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development to be held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and to ensure the early and successful completion of the negotiations for a framework convention on climate change. At the same time the Movement calls upon developed countries to be more forthcoming in their commitment to developmental issues especially on eradication of poverty, a key factor in environmental degradation in the developing countries. The Movement further calls on the developed countries not to impose any form of conditionality for development assistance under the guise of environmental considerations. On its part the Movement acknowledges the important role that the non-aligned and other developing

countries should play in promoting sustainable development through increased co-operation at the international and regional level and enhanced South-South co-operation.

83. Effective international co-operation is required on environmentally sound management of hazardous wastes. Although several international and regional conventions on transboundary movement of hazardous wastes have been adopted, these have yet to address satisfactorily the concerns of developing countries especially with regard to providing, inter alia, a liability and compensation regime, a mechanism for transfer of low-waste technology to developing countries, development of capabilities for identification, analysis and disposal of wastes and a mechanism for adopting a world wide ban on exports of hazardous wastes to developing countries which do not have such capabilities. As such, the Movement will work towards strengthening these conventions to address the concern of the developing countries.

(d) Political pluralism

84. The wish of people all over the world for political pluralism and for the establishment of a framework for democratic participation and of an open system of administration accountable to the people in their respective countries has continued to impel leaders in most countries to adjust or re-define their political systems in favour of that trend in order to meet the political aspirations of their peoples, within the context of their cultural and human traditions and heritage.

85. It needs, however, to be recognised that political stability cannot endure in conditions of economic deprivation. It is, therefore, imperative to strengthen international economic co-operation with a view to revitalising and re-activating growth and development in developing countries.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

86. The general reduction of political tension, the ever-greater integration of the world economy and a general movement in search of reforms should allow the strengthening of international equitable opportunities for all peoples to fulfil their potential. Nevertheless, the important changes in international relations have failed to exert a positive influence on the world economy and international economic relations. The problems of stagnant ODA, slow economic growth, trade problems, external debt and net transfers of resources from developing countries persist. Developing countries now have to face competition from the increasing demands of Central and Eastern European countries for available financial resources.

87. In an increasingly interdependent world, the non-aligned countries should play an important, positive role in the growth and expansion of the world economy to promote the progress and prosperity of all peoples. Developing countries should be given

the opportunity to take advantage of the new technological revolution which has promoted internationalisation of production and finance and has given new impetus to the growing integration of the world economy. Disparities between developed and developing countries should be narrowed.

88. The inter-linkages of politics and economics are real and deep, especially in developing countries, where it has become imperative to consolidate our political process in order to better tackle our economic problems.

89. The emergence of new centres of economic power have given birth to multipolarism in the economic sphere and the creation of regional blocs. The growing tendency towards regionalisation of economic activities among developed countries should not result in weakening the already fragile multilateral trade disciplines.

AN AGENDA FOR THE 1990s

90. A world divided between the haves and the have-nots cannot be sustained. Such a situation is inherently unstable. The reactivation of economic growth and the development of the non-aligned and other developing countries will require concentrated, firm efforts by all countries. In this context, it is a fundamental task to revive the developing countries' economic and social development. The greatest challenge lies in drawing up a set of policies that will ensure the reappearance of high growth rates in the world economy. The prompt and effective implementation of the Declaration on International Economic Co-operation, in particular the Revitalisation of Economic Growth and Development of the Developing Countries adopted at the 18th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, will contribute to the attainment of this objective.

91. During the last decade, developing countries have undertaken substantial reappraisal and reforms of their development policy frameworks. Vigorous efforts are being made to pursue sound macro-economic policies to improve the flexibility and responsiveness of their economies.

92. However, a favourable external economic environment is essential for the success of these efforts. In this regard, developed countries have a special responsibility to pursue changes in their economies, conducive to accelerated economic growth and development in the developing countries, and consistent with sustainable development in the world economy.

93. Such changes would include the increase of the transfer of resources to developing countries, further liberalization of world trade by the removal of protectionist barriers, remunerative commodity prices, transfer of technology, stable monetary conditions and a genuine search for a solution to the debt crisis.

94. With these considerations in view, development co-operation in the 1990s will have to focus, inter alia, on multilateral action in the following areas:

(a) Management of Interdependence

95. For the effective management of interdependence in support of growth and development, it is necessary to develop mechanisms at the global level designed to promote systematic co-ordination and harmonization of international policies, multilateral surveillance not only of exchange rate policies but also of the international adjustment process as a whole, including policies affecting international trade, capital flows, transfer of technology and the functioning of the international monetary system. Management of the world economy needs to be more broad-based so as to reflect the interests of all countries and evolve policies which can be supported by all. Regular North-South consultations at the summit level on international economic issues are essential for ensuring equitable and collective management of global interdependence. In that context, there is a need to work at the next UN General Assembly towards bringing about an international conference on Development Financing as suggested by the Secretary General of the UN in his opening statement at the Second Regular Session of ECOSOC for 1991.

(b) International Trade, Technology and Commodities

96. Over the last decade, international trade has been characterized by growing protectionism and trends towards unilateralism, bilateralism, regionalism, erosion of the multilateral trading system and increasing reliance on the exercise of power diplomacy rather than observance of agreed rules of international trade policy. These trends which tend to weaken the solidarity of Non-Aligned and other developing countries should be arrested.

97. In the on-going Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations, it is of vital importance that the multilateral trading system should be fully responsive to the special needs of developing countries, particularly in the consideration of textiles, agriculture, tropical products and natural resource-based products and protection of agro-based and other light industries. The Uruguay Round Negotiations should also lead to the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement on safeguards based on the basic principle of non-discrimination and the elimination of the so-called "grey area" measures, favourable and differential treatment for the developing countries and preservation of flexibilities available to the developing countries in GATT, especially those pertaining to their balance of payments position, improved market access for developing countries, no additional obligations on developing countries without offsetting rights and ensuring unrestricted access to markets for goods and services from LDC'S without demanding reciprocity.

98. The new areas of the Uruguay Round Negotiations, namely, trade-related aspects of intellectual property rights, as well as trade-related investment measures and services, should take fully into account the need for technological and socio-economic development and, in that context, the need for the removal of barriers to transfer of technology to developing countries, the elimination of restrictive business practices and the promotion of development of service industries in developing countries. Moreover, it is of the utmost importance that clear and unambiguous recognition of development policy objectives of developing countries be established and that any new multilateral rules and disciplines in those areas must promote rather than hinder the achievement of such objectives, and ensure in all various agreements provisions for specific commitment by developed countries aimed at facilitating unhindered pursuit of development objectives of developing countries.

99. The objectives and actions in the Integrated Programme for Commodities remain valid for achieving a better functioning of commodity markets and for finding lasting solutions to commodity problems. To this end, the international community should collectively formulate and implement an international commodity policy, taking into account the interests of both producers and consumers. It is hoped that the Common Fund for Commodities which entered into force in 1989 will make a significant contribution towards a lasting solution to the commodity problems of developing countries.

100. It is necessary for the international community to support developing countries in their efforts at diversification to improve the processing, marketing, distribution and transportation of their commodities. To enhance such efforts, developed countries will have to increase access of Non-Aligned and other developing countries to their markets. They should also foster and reinforce co-operation between producers, exporters and consumers of commodities in all fields, among other ways, by holding a conference among these countries.

101. It is necessary to strengthen UNCTAD as a United Nations body mandated to promote international trade and development to formulate principles and policies on trade as a focal point for the negotiations on matters of interdependence between trade and financing and to implement decisions on economic policy. It is equally important that UNCTAD participate in the process of strengthening the international organisations in the field of multilateral international trade, in conformity with the pertinent resolution adopted during the 45th Session of the United Nations General Assembly in December 1990. In this connection, efforts should be made to ensure that UNCTAD VIII, to be held at Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, in 1992, will achieve concrete results. Any proposal for a multilateral trade organization must be studied thoroughly and in co-operation with existing bodies of the UN system.

(c) Debts, Development Finance and International Monetary Issues

102. Urgent attention should continue to be given to finding a broad and lasting solution for the external debt problem of the debtor developing countries, and the serious debt-servicing problems of some other countries should be studied in greater detail so they may be solved as soon as possible. Initiatives and measures for reducing the amount of the debt and debt-servicing or alleviating the developing countries' debt burden should be implemented broadly. The alleviation measures should be aimed at renewing vigorous growth and development in those debtor developing countries. A serious study should be made of the possibility of continuing to strive to achieve a growth-oriented solution for the problems of the developing countries that face great difficulties in debt servicing, including those whose debts are held mainly by official creditors or multilateral institutions.

103. A solution to the debt problem and revival of growth and development require a significant improvement in the flow of financial resources, foreign investment incentives and a much larger scale of debt reduction than is possible under current schemes. To achieve that, national laws and regulations in creditor countries should be improved so as to bring about adequate levels of debt reduction.

104. The time has also come to renew the search for more predictable sources of revenue for financing high-priority development activities. In view of the prospects for disarmament and reduced military expenditure that have been opened up by recent developments in East-West relations, greater attention should be paid to the possibility of diverting the resources that may be thus released towards more productive uses, including development finance and the solution of the debt problem. In this connection, the issue of structural adjustment for transition from the arms race to disarmament and the implications for world economic growth and development should be given increasing importance in the international development co-operation dialogue.

105. Lack of progress in efforts to effect meaningful reforms and to restructure the international monetary and financial system is a matter for serious concern. A more stable exchange-rate system should be put in place and macro-economic policies should be better co-ordinated to reduce international interest rates and enhance the growth of the world economy. The International Monetary Fund should ensure efficient multilateral surveillance particularly over balance of payments trends and also over fiscal and monetary policies of all its member countries. The IMF should also complete the Ninth General Review of its quotas, ensuring that the quotas and voting rights of Non-Aligned and developing countries are increased. A new unconditional and substantial allocation of SDR is called for and the IMF should explore the appropriate ways by which to make available the larger part of the new allocation to developing countries.

INDUSTRIALIZATION

106. Industrialization in developing countries constitutes one of the main ways of reactivating economic growth and development on a sustainable basis. However, the target established at the Lima Conference of achieving 25 per cent of world manufacturing value added is far from being realised by the developing countries. In this connection, developed countries, as well as international organizations should support efforts being made by the developing countries to improve their levels of industrialization and development consideration, including promotion of small and medium-sized industries, as well as Agro-based Industries providing sufficient financial resources, promoting the transfer of science and technology to developing countries and also opening their domestic markets to manufactured exports from developing countries.

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

107. The greatest paradox of our time - that of hunger in the midst of plenty - continues. Hunger and malnutrition persist. It is therefore imperative to keep food and agricultural issues at the centre of global attention.

108. Non-aligned and other developing countries should continue to accord, in their development plans, priority to increasing food production. In this regard, the recommendations of the World Food Council contained in the Cyprus Declaration and its Programme of Action recommend themselves. The financing of investments in the agricultural sector and the provision of technical assistance should form part of both bilateral and multilateral co-operation programmes for development. The developing countries should have assured access to the advances made in such spheres as biotechnology and genetic engineering, at a reasonable cost. It is also absolutely necessary to do away with the factors that distort international trade in agricultural products. The recommendations of the World Food Council contained in the Cyprus Declaration and its Programme of Action should be enacted.

109. All donor countries are requested to maintain their levels of food assistance above the limits attained in previous years and increase their share of aid channelled through the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Food Programme to enable these bodies to continue their respective activities in support of development and emergency food needs of developing countries.

110. Food aid should not be used in such a way as to undermine local food production efforts. Non-aligned and other developing countries should take steps to develop and promote transport and communications programmes/projects among themselves in order that that sector could serve as a vehicle for the promotion and expansion of South-South trade.

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AMONG DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

111. Economic co-operation among non-aligned and other developing countries as the strategy of collective self-reliance is indispensable in their efforts to enhance progress and can in turn give substance to the process of co-operation and thus broaden the potential scope for flows of trade, technology and capital among them. The vast potential for economic co-operation among developing countries should therefore be fully exploited to serve in turn as a springboard for enhancing their integration into the global economy in accordance with their priorities and programmes for development. Such South-South co-operation is also a major element in strengthening their negotiating position vis-a-vis developed countries. Recent initiatives, in various regions of developing countries, to establish sub-regional and regional economic communities and groupings are a welcome response to similar developments among the developed countries.

112. Focal points should be established to advise governments and governmental institutions on the range of appropriate measures including favourable legal, fiscal, financial, monetary and commercial rules which need to be adopted in order to promote economic co-operation among developing countries. Such focal points should also facilitate inter-relationships and transactions among business communities in the developing countries.

113. Non-aligned and other developing countries are urged to accord high priority to consolidating and utilizing the Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries (GSTP) so that it could act not only as a framework for the granting of mutual trade preferences, but also as an important catalyst for the creation of a growing and dynamic preferential market among them. The main priorities to be addressed are the widening of the membership of the GSTP, broadening the product coverage and deepening the trade preferences. The GSTP should be complemented by appropriate trade financing measures. In this regard, there is a need for early preparations for the launching of the second round of GSTP negotiations.

114. It is very necessary to revitalize trade liberalization and other economic co-operation and integration processes at the sub-regional and regional levels. In this regard private and governmental efforts should be complementary.

115. The importance of developing and strengthening the co-ordination of positions by Non-Aligned countries in the relevant United Nations' agencies and other international organizations through programmes such as the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation among Non-Aligned countries (APEC) and the Caracas Programme of Action of the Group of 77 (CPA) recommend themselves.

CRITICAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN AFRICA

116. The continued deterioration of the economic situation in most African countries is a matter of particular concern. During the last decade, unfavourable climatic conditions, political and social instability, and the burden of external debt have resulted in an unprecedented net outflow of human, material and financial resources from Africa. Heavy losses in export earnings coupled with ever increasing import costs have further aggravated the already adverse terms of trade. Africa is more dependent upon commodities in its export income than any other region. Commodities account for between 85 and 95 per cent of total export income of many African countries. It is therefore necessary to secure favourable trading conditions for Africa's commodity exports.

117. The persistent economic stagnation and decline have led to depressed levels of investments thus further reducing the ability of African countries to sustain real growth and development.

118. Africa's external debt has increased considerably since 1982 and currently stands at over US$270 billion. The debt service to export ratio has exceeded the critical level of twenty-five per cent and in the case of some African countries it is over one hundred per cent.

119. Although more than five years ago, the United Nations adopted a Programme of Action for African Economic Recovery and Development (UNPAAERD), the international community failed to give adequate support to its implementation despite vigorous and significant policy reforms pursued by African countries, which have exacted severe social and political costs. There is a need for a new agenda for international co-operation with Africa for the 1990s which has as its priority objectives the accelerated transformation, integration and diversification and growth of the African economies. The new agenda must be specific and clearly focused on measurable goals and targets achievable within a well-defined time-frame and with built-in monitorable performance criteria. The international community should direct its support and commitments specifically to the achievement of the broad objectives of the new agenda so as to achieve a balance between national measures and international action.

120. The African economic crisis is essentially structural in nature and the development of Africa is thus a long-term process which would require concerted actions both from the Africans themselves and their donors, over a long period of time. The developed countries and the multilateral financial institutions should not only increase in real terms resource flows to Africa but should also endeavour to improve the terms and conditions of such an assistance.

121. The current profound changes in international political and economic relations pose serious challenges to Africa which require urgent consideration of the continent's peculiar economic

problems if it is to be saved from further decline in the 1990s and beyond.

CONCLUSION

122. The importance of co-operation among Non-Aligned and other developing countries cannot be over-emphasized. Of equal importance is the need for the industrialized countries as well as the international financial institutions to engage in meaningful dialogue with the developing countries with a view to promoting a balanced world economic growth.

(SECTION III)

PROGRAMME OF ACTION AND DECISIONS

123. The Foreign Ministers of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries recommend the following Programme of Action for the period preceding the Summit and for consideration by Heads of State and Government at the 10th Summit of the Movement in 1992.

THE MOVEMENT AND THE CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

124. Concrete measures are urgently required to strengthen the capacity of the Movement to respond effectively and expeditiously to the challenges of the evolving world order. To this end, the Ministerial Committee established by the Ministerial Conference in Nicosia should continue its work and receive the proposals of the members of the Movement, examine them, and present its recommendations to the Tenth Summit Meeting of the Movement in 1992.

THE MOVEMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS

125. Because of the centrality of the United Nations in multilateral negotiations, the current reform of the organisation is of cardinal importance to member countries of the Movement. In order to achieve the important objective of a United Nations that answers the needs of non-aligned countries, the Ministers decide that the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York should continue its traditional practice of regularly meeting to address relevant issues that arise at the U.N. They also invite the Non-Aligned Caucus to regularly consult with, and brief, the Bureau on issues before the Council. Similar co-operation and joint approach by member countries in the General Assembly and in other organs in the United Nations system are also strongly recommended.

126. Owing to the importance of the role of non-aligned countries at the United Nations, the Movement charges the Co-ordinating Bureau to encourage the work of its various groups on specific issues.

127. The Non-Aligned Movement endorses the resolution adopted by the OAU Summit held in Abuja, Nigeria in June 1991 on a single list of African candidates for the post of UN Secretary General.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

128. Since international security and disarmament continues to be a critical and shared responsibility for all member states of the international community, the Movement decides that Permanent Missions of non-aligned member countries represented in New York should increase their efforts at co-ordinating and collaborating their participation in the General Assembly's First Committee. This would provide an effective input of the Movement in the consideration of disarmament and international security questions. Such effort should also cover the participation of member countries of the Movement in meetings relating to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as well as the Partial Test Ban Treaty (PTBT).

REGIONAL CONFLICTS

129. The difficulties in the search for a solution to the Middle East Question continue to greatly exercise the Movement. It has been decided therefore that the Committee of Nine, established at the 1989 Summit meeting in Belgrade, should continue its strenuous efforts in the search for a solution to the Middle East Question and also to make recommendations to the Tenth Summit as to new initiatives which member countries could pursue at the next meeting in 1992.

130. With regard to the conflict situations obtaining in most regions of the world, the Movement again made a strong appeal to all parties involved to co-operate in finding peaceful and timely solutions to present conflicts as well as to those that may erupt in the future.

SOUTH AFRICA

131. In view of the important developments in South Africa it is necessary for the Movement to maintain a constant monitoring mechanism of events in South Africa.

132. The Movement therefore decides to establish a committee composed of members of the OAU Ad Hoc Committee on South Africa, Non-Aligned Movement on the Security Council, Non-Aligned Movement members of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and the South Africa liberation movements.

AFRICA FUND

133. In the five years of its existence, the AFRICA Fund has proved useful in dealing with the unique problem of apartheid and its effects on Southern Africa generally. Whilst recognising the contribution of member countries to the Fund, the fact remains that the resources of the Fund have been inadequate to fulfil the mandate assigned to it. Therefore those members of the Movement

who have not yet made their contributions are called upon to do so at the earliest possible time. A general request for increases in pledges is also addressed to all states to enable the Fund to deal effectively with residual problems of apartheid such as resettlement, rehabilitation and human resources development.

DECOLONISATION

134. The recommendations of the Working Group on Decolonisation set up by the Co-ordinating Bureau upon the recommendation of the Ninth Summit of the Movement have been considered and adopted by the Conference.

135. As long as there are colonial territories, their emancipation will constitute a priority for the Movement. The Working Group is again called upon to pilot international action to attain the objectives of the Decade by elaborating concrete steps that should be taken in the near future. A report on its activities should be made to the Tenth Summit of the Movement in 1992.

RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

136. Regarding the promotion and protection of the rights of children, the Movement calls for the effective implementation of the decisions and recommendations contained in the Global Plan of Action adopted by the World Summit on Children held in New York in September 1990.

137. It also calls for adhesion to and the ratification and rapid implementation of the provisions contained in the Convention on the Rights of the Child to be incorporated in the national legal systems of countries.

DECADE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW (1990-1999)

138. Recalling the resolutions of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Non-Aligned held at the Hague, Holland, in 1989 on the strengthening of peace and international security through lawful means - resolutions which formed the basis for the adoption of the 1990-1999 Decade of International Law by the Forty-fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Movement calls for effective implementation of the 1991-1992 Biennial Programme of Activities, adopted by the Forty-fifth Session of the General Assembly, and increased participation by the non-aligned countries in drawing up a complementary programme of activities for the rest of the decade.

NEW PRIORITY ITEMS

139. While re-emphasising the critical importance of new priority items on the international agenda such as human rights, drug abuse, environment and political pluralism, the Movement decides to underline the need for the Movement to continue to maintain its keen interest in these matters as stated in the

Review of the International Situation adopted by the Tenth Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned countries. Greater consideration should be given to the priorities and socio-economic objectives in the activities of the Movement, more specifically, the establishment of special study groups to prepare in-depth studies and follow-up activities.

140. In this connection, a special ministerial conference of Non-Aligned countries should be convened, prior to the holding of the second United Nations Conference on Environment and Development to be held in Brazil in 1992, to co-ordinate decisions of non-aligned countries in respect of the preparations for that Conference as recommended by the Ninth Non-Aligned Summit in Belgrade, and also seize the opportunity to disseminate information on the facilities of the Dump Watch already established by the Movement.

141. As regards drug trafficking and abuse, the Movement calls for the implementation of the measures contained in the Global Action Programme of the 17th Special Session of the UN General Assembly held in New York in February 1990. Recognising the importance of the entry into force of the International Convention Against Illicit Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, the Movement urges the signatory countries who have not yet done so to ratify it and invites those states that are in a position to do so to implement provisionally the measures contained in the Convention.

EXTERNAL DEBT

142. Having identified the external debt of developing countries as one of the greatest obstacles to their economic and social development, the Movement addresses an appeal to creditors to alleviate this burden through debt relief measures such as the cancellation of debts, the reduction of debts and debt servicing, the reduction of interest rates, and the rescheduling and refinancing of outstanding debts.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

143. Non-Aligned countries are urged to continue co-ordinating their approach in the field of Science and Technology and the promotion of the transfer of technology to developing countries.

SOUTH-SOUTH AND NORTH-SOUTH CO-OPERATION

144. In order to further promote effective South-South co-operation as well as constructive North-South dialogue, the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries decides to intensify its initiatives to incorporate elements of the Action Plan for Economic Co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries (APEC) and the Caracas Programme of Action (CPA) of the Group of 77. The Movement believes it important to hold the Seventh Meeting of the Co-ordinating Countries of the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation among Non-Aligned countries before the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau to be held prior to the next

Summit Conference. In this regard, the Ministers asked the Chairman of the Movement to convene the Seventh Meeting in order to make a comprehensive examination of APEC and each of its spheres, bearing in mind the actions carried out by the Group of 77 within the framework of the Caracas Programme of Action and proposing new forms for implementing South-South co-operation and new fields in which to apply it. The Movement has decided to study the recommendations of the South Commission contained in its report, **The Challenge to the South**, with a view to incorporating them as appropriate for implementation within the framework of its dialogue and action programmes for North-South and South-South co-operation. The urgent need to revitalise international economic cooperation and promoting constructive and effective North-South dialogue, makes it imperative for the Movement to analyze periodically economic matters. In this context, it has been decided to reactivate the Standing Ministerial Committee for Economic Cooperation and to convene its second substantive meeting in the near future. The Committee is entrusted to study the recommendations of the South Commission and report its findings to the Tenth Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1992. The Ministerial Conferences on South-South Co-operation will also be convened on a regular basis.

AFRICA

145. In view of the critical economic situation in Africa, the Movement once again addresses a special appeal to the international community to give adequate support to the implementation of a new agenda of international co-operation with Africa for the 1990s designed to achieve the accelerated transformation, integration and growth of African economies based on measurable goals and targets within a well-defined time frame and with built-in monitorable performance criteria.

146. The Movement welcomes the signing of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community, a history-making event which took place in Abuja, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in June 1991, and addresses an earnest appeal to African leaders to work closely to promote the political and economic integration of Africa in order to meet the challenges with which the continent is confronted.

VENUE FOR NEXT SUMMIT

147. The Conference took note of the withdrawal of the offer by Nicaragua to host the Tenth Summit Meeting of Heads of State or Government in favour of Indonesia. Nicaragua's offer to host the Summit in 1995 was supported by Colombia on behalf of the Latin American Group.

148. The Movement decided that the Tenth Meeting of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries should be held in Indonesia in 1992.

ANNEX I

REPORT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECISIONS OF THE NINTH CONFERENCE OF HEADS OF STATE OR GOVERNMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES HELD IN BELGRADE IN 1989

1. The rapid and far-reaching changes on the international scene continued after the Ninth Summit. This posed new challenges to the Movement of Non-Aligned countries and stressed the need for the Movement to intensify its activities in the implementation of the decisions of the Summit and its involvement in the newly-emerging problems of global concern.

2. In the period under review, the activities of the non-aligned countries were concentrated on several priority areas set out in the Declaration and other documents of the Ninth Summit. Particular attention was devoted to the problems of peace and international security, international economic relations, environmental, human rights and decolonisation issues as well as to the strengthening of the role of the United Nations.

3. The two-year period after the Ninth Summit in Belgrade was marked by in-depth discussions initiated at the Ministerial Conference in Nicosia on the ways and means by which the Movement would adjust itself to present-day dynamic developments in international relations and improve the methodology of its work and efficiency. Besides, the process of strengthening co-operation and dialogue between non-aligned countries and other major international groupings has been furthered on various issues and at different levels.

4. In pursuing the goals and objectives put forward at the Ninth Summit, non-aligned countries held a number of important meetings. Three plenary ministerial meetings were held. Two of these sessions, which focused on the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth Summit regarding the most topical international problems. Of particular importance was the Special Ministerial Meeting held in April 1990 in New York devoted to the Movement's role in contemporary international relations.

5. The Co-ordinating Bureau met regularly in New York. Seventeen meetings held in this period discussed all priority issues and concerns of non-aligned countries. These included the Middle East and Palestine, Persian Gulf war, Namibia, southern Africa and apartheid, Cyprus, Central America, Korea, decolonisation, small territories, United Nations, economic problems, drug abuse, the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, the place and role of the Non-Aligned Movement in the new international circumstances, preparations for the Ministerial Conference in Accra, admission of new members, etc.

6. The Movement's role and viability in international relations have been demonstrated by the growing number of countries that expressed interest in participating in its activities. The newly independent state of Namibia assumed its place in the Movement. Chile, after a long absence, reactivated its membership. Mongolia applied for full-fledged membership, Guatemala for observer status and the Netherlands for guest status.

7. Among the most important activities of the Movement were the efforts it made towards safeguarding international peace and security and resolving the most acute hot-beds of crises.

THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

8. The Movement continued to advocate a just and lasting solution to these problems through negotiations and the convening of an International Peace Conference under the auspices of the United Nations, as was decided by the Ninth Summit of Non-Aligned Countries. In that context, particular attention was paid to the Palestinian and other peace initiatives.

9. The action-oriented results of the Ministerial Meeting of the Committee of 9 Non-Aligned Countries for Palestine, held in Tunis in March 1990, were of particular importance. The Committee of 9 also met at ministerial level in New York in October 1990 to review developments in the region. An emergency meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau, chaired by the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia, was also held in October 1990 in New York to consider the acute deterioration of the situation in the occupied territories. The Committee of 9 met at ministerial level in Accra in September 1991 during the Ministerial Conference of NAM.

10. The situation in Lebanon and progress made towards national reconciliation were under constant review by the Movement.

IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT

11. The Iraqi aggression and annexation of Kuwait as well as the subsequent outbreak of war in the Persian Gulf region preoccupied the Movement's attention from the onset of the crisis. In line with its fundamental principles and the policy of non-alignment reaffirmed at the Ninth Summit, the Movement resolutely condemned the Iraqi invasion, supported relevant Security Council resolutions and undertook tireless efforts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the crisis. The Co-ordinating Bureau held an extraordinary meeting at the very beginning of the crisis on 3 August 1990 in New York. Further to this, a Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries was also held in New York on 4 October 1990 and adopted a substantive Declaration on the Persian Gulf crisis. At this meeting, the Ministers entrusted Yugoslavia, as Chairman of the Movement, to address this problem of paramount importance and seek a political solution by peaceful means. The Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia accordingly

met with the President and leaders of Iraq in Baghdad and conveyed to them the sentiments of the Movement.

12. Acting on behalf of the Movement, the Chairman maintained constant contacts with Kuwait and Iraq, and held frequent consultations with various non-aligned countries in and outside the region. The Chairman also kept in touch with other parties involved in the crisis, notably, the permanent and other members of the Security Council, as well as with the Secretary-General of the United Nations. At the same time, the Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia discussed the crisis on several occasions with the leaders of the Gulf countries, Egypt, Syria and Palestine and was in close contact with the Ministers of the USA, USSR and the European Community.

13. Several ad hoc ministerial meetings were also held on the crisis. The Foreign Ministers of Algeria, India and Yugoslavia met in Belgrade on 11 September 1990; and the Foreign Ministers of 16 non-aligned countries held a meeting in Belgrade on 12 February 1991. Following that meeting, a mission composed of the Foreign Ministers of Cuba, India, Iran and Yugoslavia met in Tehran, but the trip they were to have made to Baghdad to hold talks with the Iraqi leadership had to be cancelled because of the outbreak of the ground war.

14. The non-aligned countries continued their activities in the aftermath of the Gulf war with a view to alleviating the consequences of the war and the crisis. These problems were addressed at the meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau held in New York on May 6 1991.

REGIONAL ISSUES

15. The non-aligned countries played an important role in the process of Namibia's transition to independence. The Group of 18 non-aligned countries for Namibia, along with the Non-Aligned Caucus in the Security Council, exerted continuous efforts and significantly contributed to the creation of necessary conditions for the implementation of the United Nations Plan for Namibia. Of particular importance is the second visit of the Mission of the Group of 18 countries that actively participated in the conference of donors to assist Namibia after it had won its independence in June 1990.

16. The non-aligned countries also took initiatives aimed at the eradication of apartheid in South Africa. This led to the adoption of the Declaration on Apartheid by the General Assembly Special Session held in 1989 and to subsequently maintaining the consensus embodied in the Declaration.

17. The Movement continued to support the constructive efforts for the resolution of the problems of Cyprus, Afghanistan, Central America and Iran-Iraq conflict. Proceeding from the ASEAN Group, Yugoslavia, as Chairman of the Movement, participated in the follow-up meeting for the preparation of the Paris Peace Conference on Cambodia, held in Jakarta in February

1990. Non-aligned countries on the Security Council actively contributed to the adoption of the plan for the conduct of a referendum for self-determination in Western Sahara and for the commencement of its implementation. The Movement also continued to extend its support for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT

18. Following the decisions and positions taken by the Ninth Summit, the non-aligned countries participated fully in the discussions on matters relating to international security and disarmament at the United Nations and at all fora concerned with these problems. In that context, the co-ordinated and joint approach of non-aligned countries within the General Assembly's First Committee deserves to be highlighted. Non-aligned countries took an active part in the Fourth NPT Review Conference, as well as in the convocation, preparation and holding of the PTBT Amendment Conference.

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

19. The problems and imbalances of international economic relations and the need to revitalise sustained growth and development in developing countries as a precondition for peace and stability were in the forefront of the activities of the Movement.

20. Through the joint activities of the Group of 77 and the Movement, concerted efforts were made to implement the decisions and policies of the Summit in an effort to redress the impediments to equitable and harmonious international economic development and co-operation.

21. Non-aligned countries based their approach and activities on the premise of the Ninth Summit that international economic problems can in the long term only be addressed through dialogue and negotiations between the developed and developing countries and that concrete solutions should be sought on the basis of realism and respect for the positions and interests of all.

22. Such an approach contributed to the agreements reached at the 18th Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly held in the spring of 1990 devoted to international economic co-operation, in particular the revitalisation of economic growth and development of the developing countries. It further contributed to the agreements reached at the Second Conference on the Least Developed Countries, held in Paris in September 1990. It also facilitated the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade at the 45th regular session of the UNGA. These consensus documents offer a second basis for international economic co-operation in the coming years. Their implementation requires political commitment of all parties.

23. For their part, the non-aligned and other developing countries have recognised the importance of their own

responsibility, the efforts and the need to adjust appropriately to the evolving international economic circumstances and to bring their economies in line with the economic environment prevailing in the world by embarking upon commendable economic and social reforms. It is evident, however, that, without an appropriate support by the international community, especially on the part of the developed world directed towards the establishment of an international economic environment conducive to growth and the resolution of the acute problems facing the developing countries, these efforts will founder.

24. Instability and asymmetry remained the main features of economic relations and development in the period. The target of narrowing the differences in the level of development between developed and developing countries has not been met.

25. The constant and unflagging efforts exerted by non-aligned and other developing countries towards the resolution of the debt crisis contributed to a gradual evolution in the comprehension and treatment of the debt problem of developing countries. This led to the increasing awareness that solutions to the debt problem can no longer be sought through classical debt rescheduling and refinancing but that debt-servicing problems of developing countries should be alleviated, inter alia, by the reduction of principal and interest. This approach, however, has so far been applied only in a limited number of countries. The international community should ensure that the greatest number of non-aligned countries would benefit directly from the recent debt reduction initiatives.

26. Of great importance in this respect is the continued involvement of the UN Secretary-General, whose Special Representative for this issue, Mr. Bettino Craxi, suggested a number of balanced approaches in his report to the 1990 UNGA session. In preparing his report, Mr. Craxi had extensive consultations with a number of non-aligned countries and in that connection addressed the Special Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries in April 1990 in New York.

27. In the field of international trade, the greatest attention was focused on negotiations within the framework of the Uruguay Round. In their endeavours to contribute to the successful conclusion of the negotiations, non-aligned and other developing countries strictly adhered to the principles confirmed during the Ninth Summit that only an open, credible and non-discriminatory multilateral trading system can form a basis for the promotion of growth and prosperity of all states.

28. The non-aligned and other developing countries have co-ordinated their approach in the field of science and technology and the promotion of the transfer of technology to developing countries. They took an active part in the deliberations of the UNCTAD Committee on the transfer of technology, the Intergovernmental Committee on Science and Technology, UNGA. However, no progress has been made and the level of international support to the developing countries was

less than satisfactory and short of their needs and expectations. The implementation of the 1979 Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology fails to produce any satisfactory results.

29. Thanks to the efforts of a large number of non-aligned and other developing countries, some of the recommendations and conclusions of the Ninth Summit were incorporated into the documents adopted at the second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries (Paris, September 1990). An example of this was the Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries for the 1990s. The UNGA at its 45th Session adopted a resolution on the implementation of this Programme.

30. The Ninth Summit underscored the importance of the further development and promotion of economic co-operation among developing countries as a key element in the strategy for collective self-reliance.

31. In accordance with the recommendations adopted, efforts have been made towards adjustment, and even integration, of separate programmes of action for mutual economic co-operation within the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries (Action Plan for Economic Co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries - APEC) and within the Group of 77 (Caracas Programme of Action - CPA). In this respect, the Chairmen of the Co-ordinating Bureau and the G.77 reported on the steps taken and the recommendations made with a view to the rationalisation and harmonization of APEC and CPA. Their report was endorsed by the annual Ministerial Meeting of Non-Aligned Countries held in New York in October 1990, with a recommendation that these efforts should continue. The implementation of the conclusions and recommendations contained in the Final Report of the South Commission could provide an added impetus to the promotion of ECDC.

32. The Agreement on the Global System of Trade Preferences among Developing Countries (GSTP) has not yielded the expected results. To date, the GSTP Agreement has been ratified by 36 countries out of a total of 48 signatory states. Its implementation in practice is still incomplete due to the fact that only 22 countries have submitted the certificate of origin of goods necessary to benefit from tariff concessions.

AFRICA FUND

33. The Ninth Summit renewed the mandate of the Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid (AFRICA) Fund, thus permitting it to carry on its activities. Two more meetings of its Committee of Senior Officials (VII and VIII) were held. The Committee launched an appeal to the international community at large to pledge new contributions to the Fund and urged the donors to honour their previous pledges.

NATURAL DISASTERS

34. In pursuance of the decision of the Ninth Summit, the non-aligned and other developing countries at the 44th Session

of the UNGA jointly extended full support and contributed to the 1991-2000 period being proclaimed as the International Decade to Reduce Natural Disasters.

DRUG ABUSE AND ILLICIT TRAFFICKING

35. The recommendations of the Ninth Summit paid considerable attention to the problem of drug abuse and illicit trafficking. Of particular significance was the convening in New York, in February 1990, of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of international co-operation against illicit production, supply, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. A global programme of action and a political declaration adopted there embody the positions on shared responsibility of both producers and consumers, on money laundering and auditing as advocated by non-aligned countries.

ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

36. Environment-related issues have increasingly occupied an important place in the activities of the non-aligned countries. Non-aligned countries were actively engaged in the negotiations at the 44th GA Session which adopted the resolution on convening a United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil in 1992. They also participated in the drafting of a Framework Convention on Climate Changes. Furthermore, non-aligned countries continued to elaborate and harmonise their approach in the preparation for the Brazil Conference. In that connection, the convening of the Ministerial Conference to co-ordinate positions of non-aligned countries on environment is still under consideration.

HUMAN RIGHTS

37. Non-aligned countries continued their efforts within the United Nations to have democratic norms applied in state relations and for the creation of adequate economic conditions as the prerequisites for realising fundamental human rights and freedoms, thus contributing to the creation of conditions conducive to the promotion of human rights. The important aspect in this regard was their co-ordinated approach in the Human Rights Commission. The right to development as well as issues relating to the promotion of the work of the Commission and its expansion were given special attention.

DECOLONISATION

38. The problems of decolonisation continued to figure high on the Movement's agenda, especially within the UN framework. Upon the recommendation of the Ninth Summit, the Co-ordinating Bureau set up the Working Group composed of five African countries - Burundi, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mali and Zambia, three Asian countries - Indonesia, Iran and Vanuatu, three Latin-American countries - Cuba, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela, and Yugoslavia as Chairman of the Movement and also representing non-aligned

countries of Europe. The mandate of the Group was to develop and present to the Ministerial Conference in Accra, Ghana, for approval the Movement's work plan for the United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism and to monitor the implementation of the objectives of the Decade.

THE UNITED NATIONS

39. In the period under review, the Movement was among the initiators of action for strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and for its adjustment to the new requirements and relations in the world. These issues were thoroughly discussed at the Co-ordinating Bureau meeting in December 1990 when a number of concrete suggestions were made for the Movement's further involvement in this important process on a long-term basis.

40. On the initiative of non-aligned and developing countries, a resumed session of the 45th General Assembly was convened in April/May 1991. The successful outcome of the session created the necessary pre-conditions for further gradual enhancement of the efficiency and effectiveness of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations.

41. Following the decision of the Ninth Summit and on the basis of the initiative launched by the Ministerial Meeting on Peace and International Law, held in The Hague in June 1989, non-aligned countries pursued intensive activities for strengthening the role of the United Nations in the field of international law. The concerted action of non-aligned countries led to the proclamation of the United Nations Decade of Peace and International Law at the 44th, and adoption of the Plan of Action for the Decade at the 45th General Assembly session.

OTHER ISSUES

42. Proceeding from the decisions and the recommendations of the Ninth Summit, on the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation, non-aligned countries were also engaged in the following spheres of co-operation:

43. The 3rd Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials of Physical Education and Sports of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Havana, Cuba, 12-15 December 1989 and adopted the Action Plan for Co-operation among Non-Aligned Countries in this sphere for the 1990-1993 period.

44. The Third Conference of Ministers of Information of Non-Aligned Countries (COMINAC III) was held in Havana, Cuba, in September 1990. The Conference contributed to the further promotion of the Movement's engagement in the field of information. Tangible results were also achieved in the co-operation between news agencies of non-aligned countries within their Pool.

45. The XIV and XV Meetings of Health Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries were held in Geneva in May 1990 and May 1991, respectively, devoted to the co-operation between non-aligned and other developing countries as well as to co-ordination of their approach in WHO.

46. The Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Countries devoted to the role of women in development was held in Havana, Cuba, 29 January - 1 February 1990 and adopted a set of measures aimed at fostering greater participation by women in the development process and at achieving essential objectives of Equality, Development and Peace.

47. The Fourth Meeting of High-Level Experts in the Sphere of Standardization, Metrology and Quality Control was held in Havana, Cuba, 15-17 February 1990. It reviewed the work done and made recommendations for future action.

48. The Fourth Conference of Labour Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Tunis in November 1990, adopted a substantive Declaration and Programme of Action of non-aligned and other developing countries, with special emphasis on co-operation with developed countries in resolving problems in this field.

49. The 2nd Pyongyang Film Festival of non-aligned and other developing countries, in September 1990, was a contribution to the promotion of co-operation in that field.

50. The profound and rapid changes in international relations after the Ninth Summit necessitated greater efforts towards the improvement of the Movement's functioning and its adjusting to the changes of international relations. That was the subject of continuous discussions at various levels within the Movement. The Special Ministerial Meeting held in New York in April 1990 made a significant contribution in that regard.

51. An important dimension of this process was the development of the constructive co-operation and dialogue with other key international groupings on a number of vital issues. Contacts were promoted with the permanent members of the Security Council, the European Community and other important partners. In that connection, of special significance were the consultations that were held between a group of non-aligned countries - Egypt, India, Senegal, Venezuela and Yugoslavia, on the one hand, - and the European troika - Ireland, Italy and Luxembourg, on the other on the initiative of Yugoslavia, as Chairman of the Movement, and Italy, as the then President of the EC, during the 45th General Assembly session.

52. Furthermore, co-operation with the group of the countries with guest status in the Movement was intensified. Yugoslavia as Chairman convened a consultative meeting with this group at the level of high officials in Belgrade in July 1990. The participants mutually assessed this meeting as useful and as an important contribution to the further promotion of their dialogue.

53. Co-operation was also strengthened between the Mediterranean members of the Movement and European Mediterranean countries. Following the regular Ministerial Meeting of the Mediterranean Non-Aligned Countries held in Algiers in June 1990, which reaffirmed their political orientation towards an all-Mediterranean co-operation, a meeting of the working group for the preparation for the CSCM was held in Cairo in December 1990. The meeting was attended by four European Mediterranean countries - Italy, France, Spain and Portugal - and four Mediterranean non-aligned countries - Algeria, Egypt, Malta and Yugoslavia. In the context of promoting the all-Mediterranean co-operation, the Mediterranean non-aligned countries also participated in the CSCE Conference on the Mediterranean, held in Palma Mallorca in September 1990.

54. Non-aligned countries of Europe continued their co-operation with the European neutral countries within the CSCE process. Three ministerial meetings of the NN Group were held: in Malta, March 1990, in Helsinki, November 1990, and in Vaduz, May 1991. This contributed to the strengthening of links of non-aligned countries with, and the promotion of, their interests in Europe and in the developed world.

55. The group of non-aligned countries in the Security Council maintained close contacts with the permanent and other members of the Council and through its constant active efforts represented an important factor in the Council's functioning. Through their activities, this group contributed to a large extent to the affirmation of the principles of the policy of non-alignment, which represents a significant feature of the Movement's overall activities. The practice of close consultations between non-aligned members of the Security Council and the Chairman of the Movement has been furthered.

ANNEX II

DECISIONS TAKEN AT PLENARY MEETINGS OF THE TENTH MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE OF THE NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

1. THE RECENT CHANGES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, THEIR IMPACT ON THE CONTINUED RELEVANCE OF THE MOVEMENT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

(a) Validity and Name of Movement

Consensus was reached on the continued validity of the Movement and the retention of its current name bearing in mind that the Movement could still be non-aligned to the one remaining bloc. It was however agreed that the issue could be re-examined in the future.

(b) Principles and Role of Movement

The Conference endorsed the principles and valued objectives of the Movement as contained in paragraph 7 of the Nicosia Ministerial recommendations and recognised that some of these principles and objectives may require further re-examination in the light of current realities, a task appropriately within the competence of the Ministerial Committee on methodology established by the Nicosia Ministerial Conference. The Conference re-affirmed the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of member states, but reflected that complete breakdown of law and order in a given country might justify international intervention. It was therefore agreed that there was the need for continuous review of the concepts of sovereignty and non-interference. The Conference also called for a careful consideration by the Co-ordinating Bureau of proposals for new security systems particularly those pertaining to the maintenance of international peace and security by the U.N. Security Council.

(c) New World Order

The Movement expressed its determination to be actively involved in shaping the New World Order.

(d) Democratisation of the U.N.

It was agreed that the current wave of democratic reforms should not be limited solely to the internal conditions of developing countries but should also engulf the United Nations in order to democratise decision-making at the international level. This issue is to be studied by the Co-ordinating Bureau.

(e) End of Cold War and New World Order

No concensus emerged in support of the view that the Cold War had ended and that a new world order had actually emerged. Both issues were recommended for careful study by the Movement.

(f) Strategies for Achieving Objectives

The Conference reaffirmed its belief in staying out of military Alliances and agreed to maintain the Movement's principles in this regard.

(g) Compromise and Consultation

The Conference agreed that NAM had never committed itself to confrontation as a policy when negotiations and compromise could achieve desired results. It reaffirmed its commitment to a policy of compromise and consultations.

(h) New International Economic Order

The Conference agreed to maintain the struggle for New International Economic Order through appropriate means including dialogue and called for the resumption of the North-South dialogue.

(i) Size of the Co-ordinating Bureau

There was the general agreement that the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York should not be reduced in size. Rather it must be made more effective. The need for better co-ordination between the Co-ordinating Bureau and the NAM Caucus in the U.N. Security Council was emphasised.

(j) South-South Co-operation

There was preponderant agreement to enhance South-South Co-operation. To this end, the Conference agreed to revive the Ministerial Committee on Economic Co-operation to further reflect on this subject and to examine other avenues of co-operation.

(k) Mechanism for the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes

Agreement was reached on the establishment of a mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes between member countries. The Co-ordinating Bureau was therefore tasked to make recommendations on the nature and scope of such a mechanism.

(l) Methodology of the Movement

The Nicosia Committee on the Methodology of the Movement was tasked with the responsibility of further examining the

working methods and procedures of the Movement in order to make it more effective.

(m) **Reform of the U.N.**

The Co-ordinating Bureau in New York was given the responsibility of examining ways of promoting such reforms in the U.N. that would meet with the aspirations of the Movement.

(n) **Joint Co-ordinating Committee**

The Conference did not endorse the proposed merger between the NAM and the G.77. However there was agreement for the establishment of a Joint Co-ordinating mechanism of the two bodies subject to the approval of the G.77

(o) **Back-Up System**

The concept of a Secretariat did not find easy acceptance among NAM countries. However the need for a Back-Up System which could provide service and continuity was generally recognised as desirable and urgent. In that regard, the Nicosia Committee on Methodology was charged with the responsibility of deliberating on the matter and to submit a report on the creation and launching of a Joint Co-ordinating Committee and a "Back-Up System" to the Tenth Summit Meeting to be held in Jakarta, Indonesia in 1992.

2. THE WORSENING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SITUATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ESPECIALLY IN AFRICA AND PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

The Conference agreed on the following solutions to (the problems of) the worsening economic and social situation in developing countries:

(i) To revitalise the North-South dialogue;

(ii) To revitalise the Permanent Ministerial Committee for Economic Co-operation to articulate ideas on the New World Economic Order and formulate schemes for increased economic co-operation among countries

(iii) To promote greater regional economic co-operation;

(iv) To participate effectively, through the Co-ordinating Bureau, in the economic and social reform of the U.N.;

(v) To encourage commodity cartels such as OPEC among developing countries for effective bargaining;

(vi) To support the Group of 77 in order to articulate the concerns of developing countries in the establishment of a just economic order;

(vii) To critically examine the possibility of establishing a NAM Bank for Development by the Ministerial Committee on Economic Co-operation;

(viii) To appeal to donors not to sacrifice the interests of developing countries in the flow of financial assistance to Eastern Europe;

(ix) To call on NAM countries to reduce their heavy expenditure on arms;

(x) To carry out positive economic reforms in developing countries;

(xi) To encourage greater commitment to the issues of human rights and political pluralism. However, countries of the South should not accept the use of Political conditionalities for economic assistance; and

(xii) To give environmental protection high priority in the development programmes of member countries and to urge donors not to make environmental protection a conditionality for aid.

3. PREVENTION AND MANAGEMENT OF REGIONAL CONFLICTS

On the prevention and management of regional conflicts, the Conference agreed as follows:

(a) That NAM should deploy greater effort towards solving regional conflicts involving member states instead of leaving their solutions to external forces. It was therefore recommended that the issue be further studied by the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York and definitive proposals made to the next Summit in Jakarta; - Mediation, arbitration and conciliation were suggested as possible means of peacefully settling disputes;

(b) That the risk of conflict could be reduced by the greater observance of human rights provisions and the promotion of political pluralism in member countries;

(c) That conventional arms reduction by member countries could further reduce the incidence of conflicts;

(d) That member states should resist becoming dumping grounds for surplus arms in this era of detente between the Super powers;

(e) That approval and support should be given to the new process of detente;

(f) That the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-interference and non-aggression must be respected and adhered to by member countries; and

(g) That there should be greater reliance on regional initiatives and the United Nations mechanisms for resolving disputes as another way of reducing the risk of regional conflicts.

4. PERSPECTIVES ON THE REFORM AND DEMOCRATISATION OF THE U.N.

(a) The Conference agreed that the United Nations Charter must be respected and that the binding decisions of the U.N. should be uniformly applied;

(b) There was general agreement on the need to reform the United Nations. Accordingly, the Co-ordinating Bureau in New York was charged with the responsibility of closely examining the nature and scope of the required reforms;

(c) The Conference recommended the further study of proposals for the democratisation of the U.N. Security Council including the expansion or the abolition of the Veto power;

(d) On decision-making in the U.N. System, it was decided that the Co-ordinating Bureau should thoroughly examine the question of reaching decisions by concensus and submit concrete proposals on the nature and scope of reforms needed.

5. THE ERADICATION OF THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS ITS LEGACIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN GENERAL AND THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AFRICA FUND COMMITTEE

The Conference noted that some positive changes had taken place in South Africa but these had not resulted in the establishment of a democratic state. In that regard, it called for the maintenance of sanctions until all the structures of apartheid had been completely dismantled. The Conference also condemned the destabilisation of Frontline States and called on the De Klerk regime to negotiate with the democratic forces of South Africa and to ensure the principle of one man one vote. It further decided that NAM members should continue assistance to the Liberation Movements as well as the AFRICA FUND.

6. NEW PRIORITY ISSUES ON THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA: HUMAN RIGHTS, ENVIRONMENT, DRUG TRAFFICKING AND ABUSE, POLITICAL PLURALISM ETC. AND THE RESPONSE OF THE MOVEMENT

(a) Human Rights and Political Pluralism

The Conference agreed that human rights and political pluralism were valid concepts worth accepting and implementing by both developed and developing countries.

It defined human rights as encompassing civil, political, economic as well as social rights and noted that their violations also occurred in developed countries. It therefore advised all countries to respect international human rights instruments to which they were signatories.

The Conference identified a linkage between human rights and economic development and noted that the latter promoted greater respect for human rights and political pluralism. It therefore called for increased flow of resources to developing countries in order to enhance the protection of human rights.

It was agreed that developing countries should actively participate in debates on human rights and political pluralism. However their cultures and local circumstances should be taken into consideration in the implementation of human rights provisions.

The Conference rejected the use of human rights and political pluralism as conditionalities for economic assistance.

(b) Environment

It was recognised that the protection of the environment was the responsibility of the entire international community. The Conference therefore rejected the use of environmental protection as a conditionality for economic assistance to developing countries. It was also agreed that the Movement should continue to negotiate with the North for the transfer of environmentally safe technology and for additional resources that would ensure global ecological balance. In view of the importance of the question of environment to the Movement, it was recommended that NAM members should endeavour to participate actively in the 1992 Brazil Conference on Environment and Development.

(c) Drugs

The Conference agreed that the fight against illicit drug trafficking and drug abuse was the responsibility of the entire international community. It was therefore decided that the Non-Aligned Movement should continue to co-operate with the

U.N. and all international organisations engaged in the struggle against the drug menace.

(d) **Refugees**

The plight of refugees was reviewed and the Conference agreed that NAM countries should co-operate with the appropriate U.N. Agencies in alleviating the sufferings of refugees.

7. VENUE AND DATE OF THE NEXT SUMMIT OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES

It was unanimously agreed that Indonesia should host the Tenth Summit of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries in September, 1992. The date for the Conference is to be communicated through normal diplomatic channels.

ANNEX III

RECOMMENDATIONS ON A JOINT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT AND THE G.77 AND A BACK-UP SYSTEM FOR THE MOVEMENT

In the current general review of all aspects of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries, the need has been felt for an improvement in the Movement's methods in order to enable it become more efficient in the pursuit of its aims and objectives.

There is now a strong consensus not only in favour of strengthening the efficacy of the Movement but also in further improving its methodology. In this regard, the Movement's capacity to maintain a high level of resourcefulness and to achieve a high degree of implementation of its decisions have been considered as deserving close attention. Such improvements are even more urgent at this point in the Movement's history because of the unique and historic changes that international relations are currently undergoing and their impact on the Movement.

As the Movement is not an organization, the concept of a Secretariat has not found easy acceptance among its membership. However, the need for a "back-up system" which can provide service and continuity is generally recognised as desirable and urgent.

Such a system should be oriented towards:

a) co-ordinating the inputs of member countries in implementing decisions reached at Summit Meetings and Ministerial Conferences;

b) utilizing the inputs of existing institutions of the Movement of Non-Aligned countries and other relevant non-governmental organisations;

c) conducting research and preparing position papers for the benefit of the Chairman as well as for other member countries of the Movement;

d) monitoring of the implementation of decisions reached at conferences, Ministerial and Co-ordinating Bureau meetings; and

e) generally supporting the current Chairman in the discharge of his duties.

It is the considered view of member countries that these services would best serve the interests of the Movement at this particular time if they focused on the current problems of non-aligned and other developing countries.

Co-operation between NAM and the G.77

During the exchange of views during the Ministerial Conference held in Accra, some proposals have been made in connection with a possible merger of the Movement and the Group of 77 at the United Nations. The proposal has not found easy acceptance on the technical grounds that the Movement and the G.77 have different mandates. However, a strong consensus is perceived in favour of the need for a bridging arrangement between the Movement and the G.77 so as to enhance collaboration, avoid duplication of efforts and provide for greater efficiency in the attainment of common goals of the two bodies, especially now that international relations are undergoing changes with marked impact on non-aligned and other developing countries.

JOINT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

In this regard, it is proposed that a study should be immediately made of the modalities for reaching agreement between the two bodies for the introduction of a new system of periodic meetings of a JOINT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE of the two bodies for the specific purpose of exchange of views, harmonisation of activities, developing strategies and generally collaborating at the technical level for the implementation of decisions aimed at achieving sustainable development in non-aligned and other developing countries.

A report on the creation and launching of the said Joint Co-ordinating Committee and on the organisation of a back-up system should be made by the Ministerial Committee on Methodology elected at the Ministerial Conference held in Nicosia in 1988 to the next Ministerial Meeting of the Movement to be held in Jakarta.

ANNEX IV

ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PNDC, FLT.-LT. J.J. RAWLINGS AT THE OPENING OF THE 10TH MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, AT THE ACCRA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE, ON 4TH SEPTEMBER, 1991

On behalf of the people and Government of Ghana it gives me great pleasure to welcome you to our country for the 10th Ministerial meeting of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

Out of our loyalty to this Movement from its inception we accepted the honour of hosting this conference despite our limited material resources. The Ghanaian people, whose deep-rooted traditions of hospitality are well-known, will spare no sacrifice for the attainment of a cause they believe in. We trust that your Excellencies will find the modest facilities placed at your disposal, an acceptable environment for your deliberations. May I take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to all of you who were able to provide financial, technical and other forms of assistance to enable us do our duty.

I would also like to acknowledge the contributions made by organisations and individuals in Ghana as well as the construction workers and others who have put so much effort into their various tasks towards the hosting of this conference.

When Ghana, as a young country, was thrust into the international environment of the late 1950s and early 1960s, we saw in the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement an important forum in the quest for peace and progress in the world. So it was that in Belgrade in 1961, alongside Josip Tito, Pandit Nehru, Ahmed Sukarno and Gamel Abdel Nasser, our First President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah lit the flame of this Movement. On this occasion we pay tribute to the memory of these Illustrious founders.

May I also pay tribute to the memory of the late Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India who worked tirelessly in the cause of this Movement. His tragic death is a great loss but we believe that the country in whose name he spoke so eloquently will continue to be at the vanguard of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Your Excellencies, it is 30 years, almost to the day, since this Movement was founded. In that period, characterised by the

fierce rivalry between East and West and the attendant arms race, our countries sought to carve out a positive new path in the search for world peace and global harmony. We urged the Super-powers to abandon the path of confrontation in favour of peaceful co-existence and mutual accommodation as the only hope for human survival.

Thirty years on, it is with justifiable pride that we recall the immense contribution of our Movement in influencing the course towards peace and the evolution of a world where confrontation between the super-powers has given way to detente and where problems which appeared intractable have proved capable of solution.

Mr. Chairman, our contribution to the liberation of countries under colonial rule is evidenced by the increased membership of our Movement from 25 in 1961 to 102, with the prospect of further increased membership. Our role in the attainment of independence by Namibia, and in the process of ending the evil system of apartheid; our salutary influence on the disarmament process, are abiding reminders of what we can achieve when we act together with conviction and determination. At this time when we acclaim the prospects of global peace and detente, we must look closely at the reality of the international situation.

The prospects for international co-operation appear brighter now than at anytime since the Second World War. The Berlin Wall has been dismantled. Germany once again stands united. The end of the Cold War has freed minds and resources which for so long were trapped in a sterile confrontation. This has provided new openings for the world in the 1990s. The transformation of relations between East and West has facilitated the resolution of some of the intractable regional conflicts which have pre-occupied many Non-Aligned meetings.

However, these developments are by no means as simple as they might at first appear. They carry with them an entirely new spectrum of problems and potential dangers.

Your Excellencies, as we enter a new era in international relations, our Movement, and indeed our world, is confronted with new problems, as it is still bedevilled by some old, chronic ones. The non-aligned and other developing countries are emerging from the decade of the 1980's battered and weakened. Proper stock-taking and honest appraisal of our problems and potential should direct us in the light of our objectives, to the design of effective strategies to face the new challenges, and to prepare us for the 21st Century.

Our Movement has always affirmed our conviction that all nations in the international community have an equal right to

independence and sovereignty and to the respect of others. Our Movement has rejected the arrogance of might and insisted that we would not let our destiny be at the mercy of super-powers. Can anyone say that these concerns are no longer relevant in today's world.

The rapprochement between the two super-powers and the crumbling of old alliances have ushered in a new period of unprecedented fluidity and even instability. Recent events in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia for example provide testimony to this phenomenon. As many nations search for new modes, ideologies and relationships, the risk of fragmentation and disunity is ever present. Ethnic and nationalistic drives and aspirations are at the heart of the tensions threatening the peaceful transformation of many societies.

The future is made even more uncertain by the concept of the "New World Order". Presented as a new internationalism, in reality it is suspiciously close to a new version of super power monopoly. Such monopoly gives room to inconsistency, policies bordering on double standards and threatens the independence of other countries.

As we seek to establish the Agenda for the Non-Aligned Movement in the context of the current global situation, we must recognise that the world remains polarized into rich and poor, and the gap is steadily widening. It is now becoming obvious that the fundamental divide in the international community is North-South. Detente has not alleviated this situation.

Mr. Chairman, the major problems besetting our Movement today, are a direct result of the economic difficulties our countries faced in the decade of the 1980s. Developments of that decade, particularly the debt crisis, have weakened our countries individually and collectively.

As a result, creditor countries of the North enjoy a leverage unprecedented since decolonisation over the economic strategies pursued in most non-aligned and developing countries. This has affected our most basic internal economic choices, and undermined our political authority and options as sovereign nations.

Our nations are being crushed by a world economic order which undermines our very survival. The over four billion people who live in developing countries are about 80% of the world's population, yet our production is valued at less than 20% of global out-put and our share in world trade is only a little more than 15%.

By the late 1980s, reverse flows of capital from the South to the North had reached a net annual figure of 50 billion US dollars. With aid resources dwindling below that level and direct foreign investment down to a trickle, the already desperate conditions in most of our countries have been further

endangered. Achievements in previous decades in health care and education and modest efforts to provide social services to our people have been eroded by these economic crises. It is short-sighted not to recognise the seeds of political instability that are sown in such conditions.

Distinguished Delegates, over the past five years, falling commodity prices cost Africa the equivalent of one whole year's export receipts! It is as though for one whole year, our hardworking farmers, miners and factory workers laboured for nothing - twelve months of toil wiped out by fluctuations in commodity markets on the other side of the world. And yet the cost of imports to operate the farms, the mines and the factories continue to escalate.

In the 1980s the international debt of developing countries soared past the trillion dollar mark. Attempts by developing countries to repay the loans, as the creditors demanded repayment, created serious economic dislocations.

Production and export of primary commodities and energy had to expand, under pressure from the creditor, and resulted in market glut, weakening the prices of primary commodities, increasing competition between developing countries, and undermining commodity agreements.

In the meantime, industrial countries of the North developed technologies that reduced their demand for primary commodities. The prices of these primary commodities went down in real terms to less than half their levels in the 1970s while the prices of industrial goods went up.

Disappointingly, the calls for a New International Economic Order have remained unheeded. Instead, the past few years have witnessed the ascendancy of the concept of the free market in international economic relations as well as national economic systems.

But we know that international markets are demonstrably not free. Economically powerful countries, cartels, and transnationals dominate and manipulate these markets to the detriment of the weak, particularly producers of primary commodities.

Whilst the free market system is supposed to have its internal checks to minimize the negative aspects of its operation, in the international arena we see little manifestation of this. The various international commodity agreements have been rendered futile by the non-compliance of powerful consumer interests as well as some producers. For the people of the developing countries then, only the negative aspects of the free markets system are being felt everyday.

What we in the developing countries seek first and foremost in our economic relations with the developed world is not charity but fair prices for our products and fair access to international markets.

Fellow Non-Aligned members, we must take ourselves to task for our own failings which have sometimes worsened our problems. We must admit our inefficiencies in economic management, and failures on our part to resolve causes of instability and conflict which were within our capacity to address. Little progress has been achieved in South-South co-operation even though we have recognized clearly the benefits we can derive through such pooling together of our resources especially in technology and technical expertise.

The Caracas Programme of Action 10 years ago characterized this failure in terms of a lack of political will in the countries of the South. That is a sad commentary on the political leadership of our countries given the urgency of the problems we face. If the Cold War situation of the past made it difficult to establish clearly a sense of our collective identity and the benefits of our own inter-relations, we have the opportunity now, as the Cold War recedes, to gain a clearer definition or our goals and sharpen our commitment to their implementation.

As we highlight the need for concerted action, we cannot fail to notice that amongst developed countries, there are important steps being taken to achieve further economic solidarity. Next year Western Europe becomes formally integrated. Regular co-ordination of economic policies between the Group of 7 countries is now well-established in the international economic calender. All this makes the creation of an effective system of co-ordination among developing countries the more urgent.

It is paradoxical that the drive for reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union is tending towards fragmentation. We would urge the people of these countries as they search for ways of improving their economies and new relationships with the rest of the world, not to negate the historic contributions they have made to world peace and development.

Mr. Chairman, as a result of the global economic developments discussed earlier, cracks in our own front appeared. We did not share development lessons. Conflicts of interests arose between sub-groups amongst us. Our inability as a Movement to prevent or stop conflicts allowed outside intervention and escalation of tensions. The Iran-Iraq war is but one example.

Our economic weakness, and political conflicts further weakened our moral power, and our unity. This contributed to the near disappearance of the North-South dialogue from the global agenda at a time when it was most needed.

Many of the countries of our Movement resorted to pleading individually for assistance which severely reduced our bargaining power. The decade of the 1980s was a major disaster for the South.

Distinguished Delegates, the recent Gulf War also exposed very dramatically our Movement's weaknesses. In the situation of dispute between two member-states of our Movement, would it not have been historic if through adherence to our principles and through resort to our channels of mediation, war could have been avoided amongst brotherly peoples? We must not allow conflicts between member-countries to degenerate into situation which others, can exploit to serve their own ends.

On this occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Movement, we must reaffirm our commitment to the objectives and principles that the founders so clearly set down:

1. respect for independence and territorial integrity and sovereignty;

2. non-aggression;

3. non-interference in each other's internal affairs;

4. equality and mutual respect;

5. the right to self-determination of all peoples;

6. complete and general disarmament;

7. peaceful co-existence; and

8. economic co-operation.

Excellencies, as we meet today, many questions arise. Can we achieve in the 1990s what we failed to accomplish in the 1980s? Can our Movement retain its sense of purpose and its moral power to influence world affairs? Can we solve our problems, old and new? What new directions do we have to take? What new strategies must we formulate to be responsive to the times and be effective as a Movement in influencing the new world order?

Your Excellencies, within national boundaries, moral and ethical principles are often stated to be the justification of governmental authority over people. In the international arena, however, the notion that "nations pursue interests" is used to undermine adherence to principles. In this way power, both economic and military, becomes the overriding criterion in relations between states.

The Non-Aligned Movement must become the voice of the world on principles, as opposed to selfish interests. It is only in this way that the interest of all, particularly the disadvantaged of the world, can be safeguarded.

We do not under-estimate the virtues of hardwork and discipline, and the spirit of enquiry which have brought industrialized countries some of their advances. However, the countries of the North will always have needs that only our countries can satisfy. Non-Aligned and developing countries are important trading partners for the North. For instance, we account for about 35% of US exports to the world. It is estimated that half a million US jobs were lost as a result of the conditions of the South in the 1980s. The prosperity of the South is an important condition for continued demand for the products of the North. The changes we seek are therefore of mutual benefit in the long run.

Your Excellencies, this gathering represents a vast majority of humanity. It is not our aim to provoke the rest of the world or any part of it. We are here to hold out our hand in friendship, mutual respect and co-operation. For this reason we of the Non-Aligned Movement remain dedicated to the United Nations Organisation and its ideals, and will continue to play our part in all efforts to restructure and revitalize it. It must remain the forum where the united voice of the Non-Aligned Movement must be heard in defence of principle in international relations.

However, there has been a tendency to restrict and constrain the role of the countries of the Movement in the United Nations. Effective decision-making has shifted further from the general Assembly where we have influence, to the Security Council governed by super-power Veto.

United Nations specialized agencies have been marginalised by financial pressures from the North. Even trade matters have been shifted from UNCTAD to GATT where our countries have little influence. We must guard against the UN being turned into a narrow foreign policy instrument of any power or collection or powers. We must insist on adherence to democratic practices within the framework of the UN just as we insist on democratic developments at national level.

Your Excellencies, another vital area in which we must act with common purpose is the environment. A United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development is scheduled to take place in Brazil next year. This conference is expected to formulate measures that will bind all of us to a framework of sustainable development and to the task of redressing the environmental degradation of our planet.

I would like to say a few words about the agenda for Rio de Janeiro. The developed countries have created a lifestyle which was based upon the devastation of the environment in their own countries and in those which came under their domination. Years

of ecological neglect and complacency in the developed countries, and pre-occupation with rapid industrial growth at any cost, have brought our planet to the brink of disaster. The Toronto Conference of 1988 stated that the consequences of global warming would be second only to global nuclear holocaust.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, our traditional understanding of our environment tells us that a country which consumes one-sixth of the world's natural resources to sustain a relatively small population cannot expect us all to live by their standards. Such standards are not only unrealistic, but are also destructive for the entire world.

Patterns of consumption that put the whole world in environmental danger have been created in developed countries, and projected through the international media, as the ideal to which the peoples of developing countries should also aspire.

We must not be drawn into the trap of aspiring towards an unsustainable lifestyle. Reason must tell us that this would be to condemn our children to a barren future. It does not make sense to look on passively whilst a few developed nations contravene this wisdom.

The ordinary people of the developed countries have responded wholeheartedly to these environmental concerns. They have become a powerful political force in their own countries. Our hope is that they will work closely with us in this crucial task of ensuring sustainable development. The problem of environmentalists in the developed nations is not with us in the developing countries, who share their principles, but with their own governments and industries which have been responsible for creating a system that destroys the environment.

It is not we who are ignorant of the damage to the resources of our nations. We have always believed that Mother Earth is common to us all and that as members of the human family we must be in harmony with her bounty. We learnt those delicate balances long ago. And we find it ironic that nations which forgot or denied these balances, even to the extent of subverting our values, now take us to task on these issues.

I trust that your meeting will work towards a common front on this important issue to be presented in Rio next year.

Your Excellencies, in the light of our analysis and our objectives this meeting should establish a common strategy, outline common courses of action, with clear priorities and set out timetables that reflect the urgency of the situation we face.

To give effect to this, there is the need to develop institutions capable of harmonising our efforts in a consistent manner. We have reached a point in the history of our movement where we cannot leave our co-ordination to chance. (As the saying goes "Trust in God, but tie the camel.")

Distinguished Delegates, collaboration and co-operation among our member countries at all levels are absolutely vital. Some of us have made significant advances in agriculture, medicine, science, technology and industry. These achievements must be placed at the disposal of all our members so that we can strengthen our capacities for development and progress in the service of our peoples.

We must strengthen our regional economic groupings. A realistic strategy for trade and other collaborative enterprises among the Movement's members must be a serious part of our new agenda. We need to build institutions for sharing experiences and information, particularly in Science and Technology, Research and Development.

Let us also seriously address the issue of investments in each other's countries, and the establishment of a common approach to economic development and growth. Underlying all these should be greater familiarity with each other, not only through official meetings but more important at the level of people. Exchange of information and cultural links can contribute substantially to this. It is no good if we learn about each other only through the distorted vision of external media.

Distinguished Delegates, we must also learn to deal with our disaster situation - particularly with regard to refugees and famine relief. However modest our resources, we must be the first at the door of afflicted sister nations, registering compassion and comradeship with them in their hour of need, dealing with disaster situations in a timely manner.

Many of these unfortunate situations, especially on the continent of Africa have arisen from civil wars and other conflicts that have displaced vast populations - Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, Ethiopia are all current tragic examples.

Mr. Chairman, the Palestinian problem remains a major cause of instability in the Middle East. Resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN establish the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including their right to set up their independent state on their liberated land.

We understand these resolutions to require total Israeli withdrawal from their illegal occupation of Palestinian lands. Yet Israel has resorted to confiscating Palestinian territory and other Arab lands for settlement by thousands of immigrants. Brutal repression of the Intifada and gross violation of the Palestinian right of self-determination enshrined in the UN Charter constitute a major affront to the entire world.

The people of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic must also exercise their right to self-determination within an internationally supervised framework.

Your Excellencies, apartheid, despite recent positive developments and proclamations of good intentions, remains entrenched. The removal of apartheid by statute has not been accompanied by substantive policies and programmes which are necessary to redress the grave socio-economic inequalities generated by past policies. Many political detainees are still in Pretoria's jails, whilst the African masses experience poverty and deprivation and are the daily victims of state-sponsored violence.

This is even extended beyond the borders of South Africa to neighbouring countries, notably Mozambique. We must insist on the adoption by the South African Government of serious measures which remove all obstacles to genuine negotiations as stated in the Harare Declaration and the UN General Assembly Declaration of December, 1989 on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. We must continue to exert massive pressure against the apartheid regime until it is totally dismantled.

While we welcome the recent agreement between the African National Congress and Inkatha, your meeting should urge them and all other anti-apartheid organisations to make every effort to ensure that talks about the future South Africa can take place, if not in a peaceful and constructive atmosphere then at least in a non-violent atmosphere.

Your Excellencies, we observe with satisfaction the efforts being made by the two Koreas to achieve their goal of national reconciliation and unification. Our Movement must lend support to this process and place itself at the disposal of the two sister countries in their drive towards these laudable goals.

We would also wish to support vigorously all international efforts to resolve existing regional conflicts particularly those that have so adversely affected some of our sister member-countries such as Afghanistan, Cambodia, Cyprus, and Lebanon. The full weight of our Movement should be behind these efforts.

Mr. Chairman, removing the threat of nuclear war remains a most urgent task of our time. The threat posed to the entire world by existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons and their continued development and testing are the concern of all states and all peoples. It is for this reason that our Movement continues to press for general and complete disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, and the involvement of the international community as a whole, particularly the United Nations, in all disarmament negotiations.

Recent positive steps in nuclear and conventional arms reduction and the partial steps towards the eradication of biological and chemical weapons, only emphasize the unfinished agenda on disarmament.

Our Movement has always been concerned about the mis-allocation of resources that the arms race represents. With the advent of detente we expect that the huge resources that will

become available will be channelled into supporting development efforts in needy countries.

There can also be no question about the need for us to be disciplined in our defence expenditures so as to make more resources available to meet the basic aspirations of our people. Defence establishments in our countries must themselves be part of the development effort.

There can also be no question about the need for us to be disciplined in our defence expenditures so as to make more resources available to meet the basic aspirations of our people. Defence establishments in our countries must themselves be part of the development effort.

Your Excellencies, there is a current fashion of demands being made on us by developed countries for "democratic" reforms as a pre-condition for aid. The call for democracy is a valid one: It is a basic aspiration of our people. But do developed countries recognise the reality of democracy in our circumstances, or will they compel, as a conditionality, the adoption of mere forms which have evolved in their countries from their cultural and historical experiences?

On our own part, we should have the courage to admit deficiencies in both the form and content of our practice of democracy. This is for us to rectify.

Ultimately, the acid test of democracy must rest with our people, and not be imposed by countries with circumstances different from ours. Indeed some of the people of those countries are even now questioning whether those particular forms they evolved provide the essence of true democracy.

The quest for freedom, democracy and development should inspire all our peoples. We have to evolve them in decision-making and secure their representation and participation within our cultural norms and processes. We must be proud of our cultural identity, safeguarding it from attack and manipulation.

We should develop open and tolerant ideologies emphasizing the brotherhood of man, self-reliance, and creativity. We must be ready to respond to the challenges of tomorrow without losing our roots, and our deep commitment to our heritage.

Mr. Chairman, Your Excellencies, a new era in history is emerging. We have played a role in the birth of that era. We must be ready and equipped to play our part in shaping the new order. The nations of the Non-Aligned Movement must ensure that we earn respect as partners in the evolution of this new world order. We must strive to establish conditions of fair and just economic relations, respect for the sovereignty of all nations, however small, international legality, and global peace.

The goal of ending poverty and ensuring sustainable world development must remain central to our concerns.

Your meeting, Distinguished Delegates, offers a unique opportunity to give new impetus to our Movement in order to strengthen its role and enhance its contribution to a truly new world order in which the inequalities of the international system give way to justice, prosperity and harmony. This is the expectation of millions of our peoples round the world. We must take up the challenge, confident of our past achievements and inspired by the historic opportunity before us.

Consistent with the surest impulses of our religions, and our cultures, armed with the energy and sense of justice or our peoples we must develop the Non-Aligned Movement into a strong moral force in today's world.

This Movement, Your Excellencies, must be the conscience of the world in defence of the deprived and underprivileged.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, much as I would like to talk and walk taller and feel the greater pride of our worth, I must admit that with the probability of several millions of our people on the verge of starvation again this year on this rich but poor continent of ours can be quite deflating.

In this conference centre is a gathering of representatives of about 3.5 billion people out of which about 40,000 children below 5 will have died by the end of today - for everyday to come 14.6 million child deaths per year. 40% of this number I believe, die from malnutrition. These and more are some pictures of our world.

While you and I know about this, the reality of our personal lives may be far removed from the painful existence that brings us here.

But on us lies the collective responsibility to find viable and urgent solutions to our socio-economic problems. On us lies the responsibility to give tangibility to our independence. Several years ago, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said the independence of Ghana was meaningless, unless it was linked with the total liberation of the African continent. After almost 20 - 30 years of a near total liberation, it is becoming very clear that our independence is becoming more and more meaningless unless we link up our developmental and economic efforts.

Ladies and Gentlemen, if there was to be a third world war, there is no doubt in my mind that with these living experiences, if any one should survive it, our people will.

Despite these hardships, the spirit of our people remain indomitable as proven by the Black Starlets. It is our duty and responsibility to channel that spirit towards its own salvation.

Ladies and Gentlemen, if humanity should someday regain her proper sense of mission, our era (today) with so much poverty and death in the midst of so much in the hand of so few may be seen as the primitive era. If humanity will make a break through, is there any reason to pass on this moral responsibility to some other generation.

Never before has man made such technological leaps in the midst of so much human neglect, (and yet) we have today in our hands the means to humanise these technological advances. We have only one of two choices - to do it or to continue down the valley of our inhumanity while the weak and the disadvantaged hope and pray for a more responsive generation (of leaders).

And for us Christians and other believers who saw socialism and Communism as a threat to justify our wealth by any means for might, there is no longer that excuse in the face of the dying enemy.

Capitalism can only nail her in the coffin as well as save his/it's face by also reforming - Not with hollow words of freedom, justice and democracy but with deeds - freeing the key to our resources a fair prize for our labouring products.